

CHURCH MUSIC AND MUSICAL LIFE
IN PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



Mrs. Alvin Afflick Parker

23 May 1852

18 August 1931

Mrs. Parker came from a distinguished lineage of Colonial ancestry. Her interest in the arts was general, but it was especially keen with regard to music, wherein her own ability was great.

For many years she sponsored concerts at which much music of the early American settlers, music which otherwise might have been lost in oblivion, was brought to light. She was always ready to help and did render substantial assistance to many young artists and musical organizations, but outstanding amongst her benefactions was her assistance to the Library of Congress in organizing its Archive of American Folk Song, a service to which Carl Engel paid tribute in the Report of the Librarian of Congress for 1931.

Gentle yet forceful in character, with a highly cultivated mind she combined great kindness of heart and unusual charm of personality. Beloved by all, her memory lives on in the Christmas Carol Service initiated by her and continued annually by the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF
THE COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA—IV



*Church Music and Musical Life
in Pennsylvania
In the Eighteenth Century*

IN THREE VOLUMES

PREPARED BY
THE COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Volume III, Part 2

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THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF THE COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA

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TO
THE GLORY OF GOD
AND
IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF
OUR ANCESTORS

FOREWORD TO VOLUME III, PART 2

TWENTY years have passed since Mrs. Alvin A. Parker, on behalf of the Committee on Historical Research, issued the first of the series to which the present volume marks *finis*—a series which Mrs. Parker announced as a “first attempt to collect, illustrate, and bring together the music of the early settlers of Pennsylvania” in order “to simplify the labor of those who may later continue the critical study of the fundamentals of Pennsylvania music.” Time has made many changes in the membership of the Historical Research Committee, yet so inspiring was the vision of Mrs. Parker and so thorough were her labors that even her passing could no more than delay the conclusion of the work which she began. To her, and to her loyal assistant, the late Miss M. Atherton Leach, belongs full credit for whatever of worth the reader may find in the pages that follow.

Since Volume III, Part 1, was dedicated by Miss Leach in her Foreword to the memory of Mrs. Parker, it is fitting that Part 2 should be a tribute to the memory of Miss Leach herself. At an age when most of us have withdrawn from active life, Miss Leach gallantly carried on the work undertaken by Mrs. Parker and brought it well-nigh to completion. Four chapters of this final volume—the first, second, third, and sixth—were already set up in type when death intervened. In preparing the

remaining chapters for the printer, her successor has endeavored to adhere as closely as possible to Miss Leach's intentions, insofar as those intentions proved feasible. Various considerations, principally of space, have unfortunately made it necessary to omit references to Presbyterian music, to Revolutionary music, and to several other subjects originally scheduled for treatment.

The organizations and individuals to whom thanks are due for assistance in the preparation of this volume are numerous. In particular, the sincere gratitude of the Committee on Historical Research and of the present Editor is expressed to Mr. R. N. Williams and to other officers of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for their generous cooperation and for permission to reproduce herein certain materials belonging to that Society. Thanks are also due Dr. Harold Spivacke and Mr. Edward N. Waters, respectively Chief and Assistant Chief of the Music Division, Library of Congress, who contributed to the consummation of this undertaking no less than their predecessor, the late Oscar G. T. Sonneck, contributed to its inauguration. Most of all, deep appreciation is felt for the guidance of Mr. J. Brooks B. Parker, whose devotion to the aims and ideals of his mother made possible the completion of this undertaking.

WILLIAM LICHTENWANGER
Music Division
Library of Congress

WASHINGTON, D. C.
November 1946

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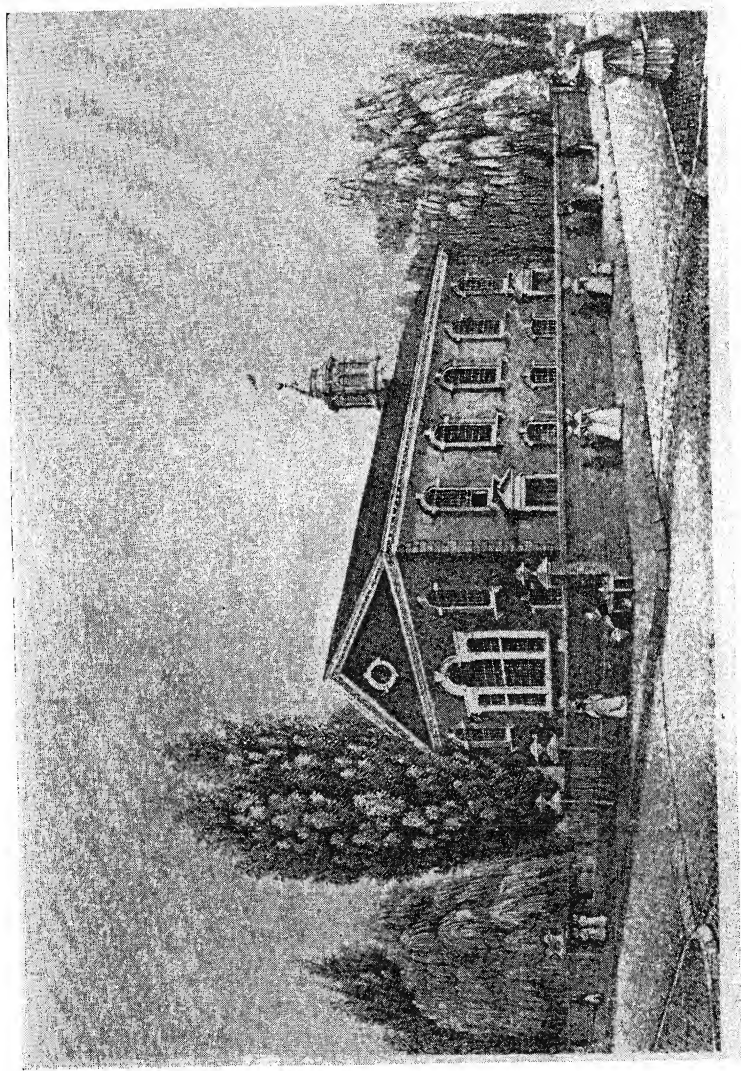
* *Deceased*

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MUSIC OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA, AS WASHINGTON KNEW IT
From Jeffreys' *George Washington, St. Peter's, and the Episcopal Church.*

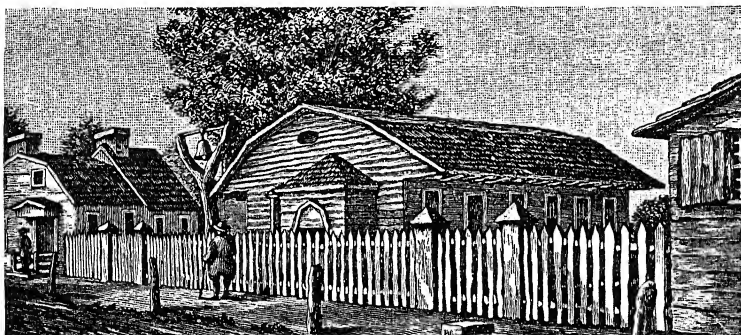
MUSIC OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN PENNSYLVANIA
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WHILE Pennsylvania was settled under Quaker auspices, it must be remembered that William Penn, to whom the Charter was granted by King Charles II in 1681, was born into a good Church of England family, and was baptized in the ancient Church of All Hallows, Barking-by-the-Tower, London, 3 November 1644 (new style). His father, Admiral Sir William Penn, though he fought on the Parliamentary side in the Civil Wars, was one of those who brought about the King's restoration, and was knighted in recognition of his loyal efforts. His monument is one of the sights of the magnificent parish Church of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. William Penn the Younger embraced Quakerism in the face of violent opposition from his father, and in spite of his difficulties with the authorities on this score he retained the confidence and regard of the King.

So when the Charter for Penn's New World venture was granted in 1681, it was stipulated that if as many as twenty inhabitants of the new province should state in writing to the Bishop of London their desire to have a clergyman of the Established Church appointed to minister to them, the request should be granted and the clergyman allowed to carry on his ministrations without hindrance.*

* Perry, *History* . . . , I, 223, 224. [Complete references to sources not fully listed will be found in the Bibliography, p. 541 ff.]

It is likely that Church of England services were held in the country along the Delaware River before Penn's colony was organized.* However, such services were sporadic, and indeed it was some years before a rather timid request was made for them under the provisions of the charter. In the 1690's George Keith began the long trek back to the Church, to be followed by many other Quakers in the course of two and a half centuries, including Penn's own family.



THE ORIGINAL CHRIST CHURCH BUILDING (?)

Reproduced by permission of the Macrae-Smith Co. from Louis C. Washburn's *Christ Church*. (Source unknown; Dorr's *History* indicates that the original building was of brick.)

Finally, in 1695, Christ Church, Philadelphia, was organized, and a Church building begun on the present site. After brief ministries by two other clergymen, and many controversies and frictions with the dominant Quaker party, the Rev. Evan Evans was sent by the Bishop of London as incumbent of Christ Church, in 1700.† During his ministry of eighteen years in Phila-

* Ranross, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, 126.

† Dorr, *Historical Account of Christ Church, Philadelphia*, 24.

delphia, Dr. Evans is said to have baptized some eight hundred persons.* Undoubtedly a considerable number of these were Quakers, and perhaps his great success was due in no small measure to his organization of "a society of young men who met together every Lord's Day, after Evening Prayer, to read the Scripture and *sing* Psalms." †

Youth requires some outlet for its high spirits, and it is conceivable that the singing of Psalms might very well have furnished this outlet in a sober Quaker settlement at the beginning of the 18th century. Dr. Evans made the most of his opportunity at these meetings to set forth the Church's teaching; hence the great number of baptisms and the constantly increasing membership of the parish Church. So we may say that Psalmody was at least a contributing cause of this development.

But to what kind of Psalmody were the youth of primitive Philadelphia treated for their delectation and edification? By this time there were two versions of the Metrical Psalms current, both officially endorsed by the Church of England. The so-called *Old Version* of Sternhold and Hopkins had appeared in 1562, and after a century and a half of use was still firmly entrenched in the affections of Churchmen. A formidable rival made its appearance in 1696 in the *New Version* of Tate and Brady. The *Old Version* was a versified translation, often crudely literal, which offended those with even moderately fastidious tastes. The *New Version* consisted of paraphrases rather than translations. It was really a collection of hymns based on the sense of the Psalms, written by two men of some literary standing.

* Dorr, *op. cit.*, 27.

† Humphreys, *Historical Account of the S. P. G.* Quoted by Dorr, *op. cit.*, 27.

Coupled with the *Old Version* one usually found Ravenscroft's fine book of tunes in four parts, with the melody in the tenor, published in 1621. The later tune book of Playford, arranged in three parts, with the melody in the soprano, published first in 1671, became particularly associated with the *New Version*. Playford's collection of tunes had not the grave dignity of Ravenscroft's, but was touched with the lighter spirit of Restoration times.*

Two years after its appearance, the Bishop of London licensed the *New Version* for use in his Diocese, and as he had oversight of the Church in America we may assume that the license extended to the colony of Pennsylvania. But just when the *New Version* began actually to supersede the *Old Version* here we do not know. We do know that the first edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* printed in America contains the *New Version* of Tate and Brady. This edition was printed in 1710 by William Bradford, who was New York's first printer and a vestryman of Trinity Church from 1703 to 1710. In August 1707 the *New Version* came into use in that parish by order of the Vestry.† In the Bradford Prayer Book, after the "Alphabetical Table" of first lines of the Psalms, there is a paragraph of "Directions about the Tunes and Measures." Here the names of fifteen tunes are mentioned, and it is stated that they "are Printed in the *Supplement* to this New Version of Psalms."

Pioneer conditions prevailed to such a large extent in the colonies and there was so little time for any extensive development of the arts, especially music (which was

* Lutkin, *Music in the Church*, 68, 69.

† Arthur Henry Messiter, *A History of the Choir and Music of Trinity Church*, New York, E. S. Gorham, 1906, p. 14.

looked at askance by both Puritans and Quakers), that there was perhaps no congregation able to master as many as fifteen tunes.* In many places five or six were all that could be managed.† As there was naturally a scarcity of books, the dreadful custom of "lining out" the Metrical Psalms gained a wide currency. "Each line of the Psalm was first read over by the clerk or minister, and then sung by the congregation. The music was thus broken up into disconnected fragments and was apt to lose its identity. In fact it not infrequently happened that a congregation became 'side-tracked' and ended with a tune other than the one 'pitched' at the start."‡

And it must be made clear that such luxuries as choirs were not to be found until later in the century. The singing was entirely congregational, probably entirely in unison or octaves, and was consequently restricted to a few Psalm tunes, rendered in the distressing manner noted above. But even this dubious attraction helped to hold the interest of Dr. Evans' promising class of youths.

The tunes mentioned in Bradford's Prayer Book as the usual ones were evidently the ones familiar to most Church people at the beginning of the 18th century, and the ones that were being universally sung in the Churches. These tunes were: YORK, WINDSOR, ST. DAVID'S, LITCHFIELD, CANTERBURY, MARTYRS, SOUTHWELL, ST. MARY'S, OLD 25TH, OLD 113TH, OLD 148TH, OLD 104TH, OLD 100TH, OLD 125TH, and OLD 51ST, all of them solid products of the various Metrical Psalters of the 16th and

* Messiter, *op. cit.*, 16.

† Lutkin, *op. cit.*, 69.

‡ Lutkin, *op. cit.*, 66.

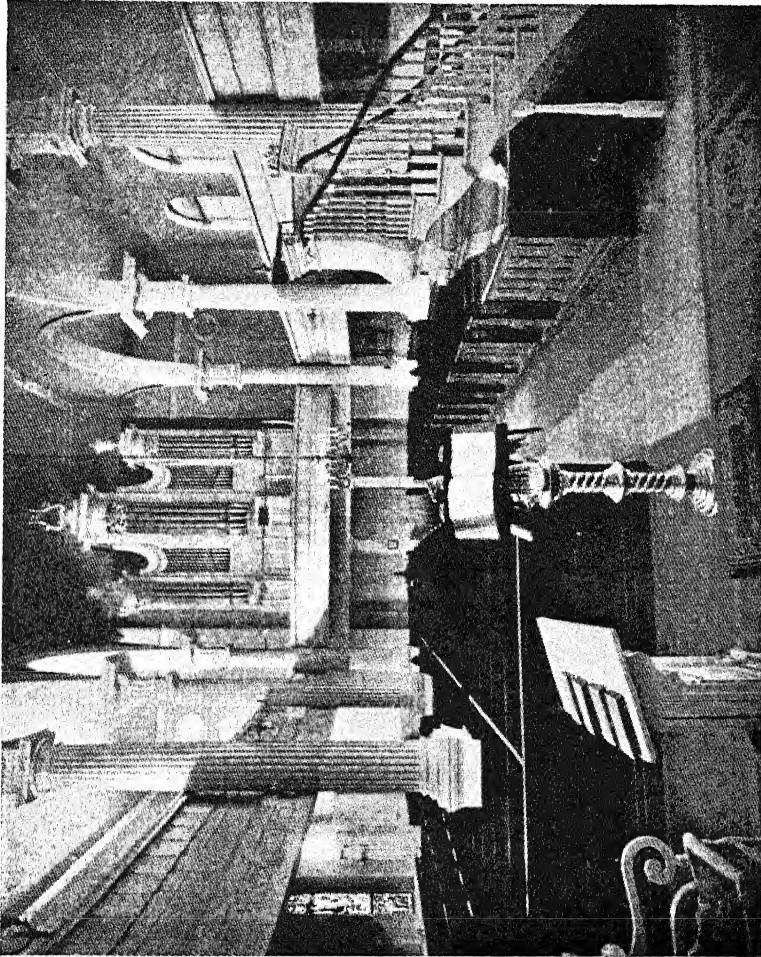
17th centuries. Some of them have survived to our day, or are being revived by modern hymn book editors.

Very early in the century a number of other parishes of the Church of England were founded in the neighborhood of Philadelphia. Among them were St. John's, Concord; St. John's, Pequea; St. James's, Perkiomen (Evansburg); and St. James's, Bristol. But in telling the story of the music of the period we shall have to confine our attention to the better known Philadelphia Churches.

Soon the congregation of Christ Church outgrew its original church building, and the corner stone of the present handsome church was laid 27 April 1727. No time was lost in arranging for the purchase of an organ, and a Committee reported to the Vestry in September of the next year that they had treated successfully with "Mr. Lud. C. Sporgel" for "an organ lately arrived here." * The price was £200, and another Committee was appointed to raise this sum and have the organ transported to the Church and erected there. Doubtless the singing in the new Church was greatly improved by the support which this fine instrument gave. But who played it we do not know, nor is there mention of it again until a new one was needed in the latter half of the century.

We have said that Tate and Brady's *New Version* of the Metrical Psalms was rather a paraphrase than a translation. In reality this version was the connecting link between psalmody and hymnody, the *rapprochement* between the mutually contradictory Calvinistic and Lutheran positions, the former maintaining that the Deity should only be addressed in song in the words He Himself has given us, and the latter that it is proper for

* For an account of Sporgel and a conjecture in regard to the origin of this organ, see Dorr, *op. cit.*, 15.



INTERIOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA

Reproduced by permission of the Macrae-Smith Co. from Louis C. Washburn's *Christ Church*.

the creature to send up to the Creator the best of which he is capable. The *New Version*, strangely enough, proved to be the opening wedge in the assault on the Calvinist citadel. The breach was widened immeasurably by the labors of the famous English Non-Conformist (Congregational) minister, Isaac Watts (1674-1748). He not only set about the "renovation of Psalmody," but also the composition of hymns embodying many phases of evangelical belief and practice.* In both he was abundantly successful.

The 1st Edition of Watts's *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* was published in London in 1707, and a 2nd Edition, "corrected and much enlarged," appeared in 1709. *The Psalms of David Imitated* came along ten years later, in 1719. But prior to this, his *Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children* had reached publication in 1715. In 1729 Benjamin Franklin reprinted the 7th Edition of the *Psalms*, apparently the first publication having to do with music in Philadelphia.† In 1737 the same publisher brought out an edition of the *Divine Songs*, and in 1741 he reprinted the 15th Edition of the *Hymns* and the 13th Edition of the *Psalms*. Innumerable editions followed, the *Psalms* and *Hymns*, or a selection of them, usually being bound together in a single volume. Thus it was through the enterprise of Benjamin Franklin—publisher, a pew-holder in Christ Church, and a member of the Committee that built the steeple and imported the bells—that the latest developments in the field of psalmody and hymnody were so soon made available to Philadelphians.

* Benson, *The English Hymn*, 110-113.

† Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson and James Lyon*, 12.

Other Philadelphia Church music publications of the first half of the century include: (1) *The Singing Master's Guide to his Scholars. With the Psalms According to the Old and New Translations . . . With the Tunes in Two Parts.* By Daniel Warner, 1730; * (2) a reprint of Tate and Brady, 1733; † (3) *The Youth's Entertaining Amusement, or a Plain Guide to Psalmody, Being a Collection of the Most Usual and Necessary Tunes Sung in the English Protestant Congregation in Philadelphia, etc. in Two Parts, viz. Treble and Base, with all Proper and Necessary Rules, Adapted to the Meanest Capacities.* By W. Dawson, Writing Master and Accomptant, at the Hand and Pen, in Third Street, Philadelphia, 1754.‡ “English Protestant Congregation in Philadelphia” of course means Christ Church. Sonneck says “no copy seems to have come down to us.” What would we not give to find a copy! Then we should have definite and exact knowledge of the very tunes in use in Christ Church at the halfway mark of the century.

While bells are not usually included in the musical equipment of a church, those of Christ Church are of sufficient interest to require some mention here. The original bell, weighing 700 pounds, and said to have been hung in the fork of a tree beside the original Church to call parishioners to worship, was cast in 1702. A smaller bell, weighing 215 pounds, and called the “Minister’s Bell,” was given by Captain Herne, commander of the *Centurion*, in 1711.§ At mid-century, shortly after ex-

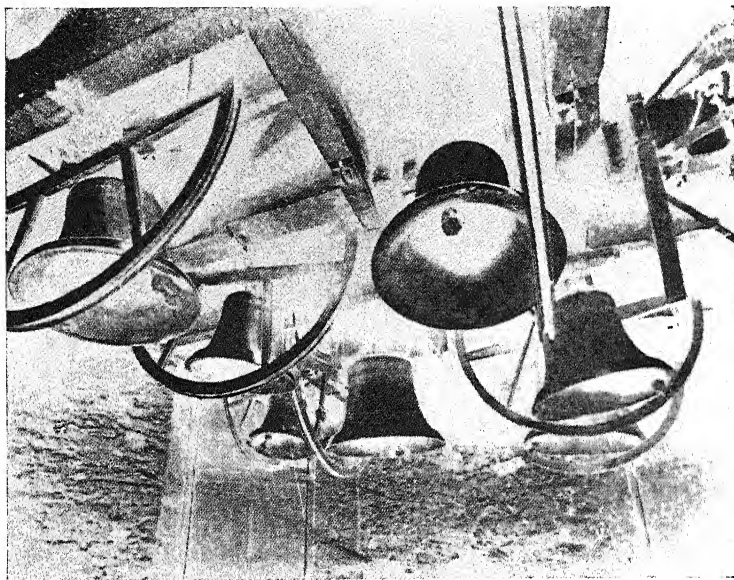
* Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 13.

† Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 14.

‡ Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 19

§ Washburn, *Christ Church, Philadelphia, A Symposium*, 26.

tensive alterations and repairs had been made, owing to woefully inadequate seating accommodations, it was decided to build a steeple and purchase a set of bells.*



THE BELLS OF CHRIST CHURCH

Reproduced by permission of the Macrae-Smith Co. from Louis C. Washburn's *Christ Church*.

Eight in number, they were ordered from London, and finally arrived in the autumn of 1754, on board the *Myrtilla*, under command of Captain Budden. The cost was £560. 7s. 8d.† When St. Peter's Church was built a few years later, the old bells were sent there, and served the new Church until its tower was built and set of bells given in 1842. The great bell now hangs at Christ Church Hospital, Belmont, and the small bell was given

* Dorr, *op. cit.*, 98.

† Dorr, *op. cit.*, 106.

to Christ Church Chapel, where it remained until that work was given up. Then the bell was returned to the mother Church.

By this time the musical development of Philadelphia had made considerable strides. Concerts were being held, singing schools conducted, instruction given on various instruments, theatrical performances, with music, promoted, and ever more musical publications issued. Altogether, the musical life of the city was beginning to take on a metropolitan aspect, and we may assume that in the face of a developing culture some of the early crudities of the congregational singing had been to a certain degree smoothed out.

An event of great significance about this time was the founding of St. Peter's Church, significant to us because of the coterie of fine musicians that clustered about the Church, establishing at the beginning of its life a distinguished musical tradition which has been consistently maintained ever since. Acting upon a petition dated 1 August 1754 and signed by many prominent residents of the neighborhood, the then Proprietaries of the Province, Thomas and Richard Penn, grandsons of William Penn and loyal adherents of the Church of England, made a grant of a lot to accommodate the new Church on the south-west corner of Third and Pine Streets.* Other lots were acquired, a Building Fund started, and finally the corner stone was laid in September 1758. The new Church, which the Vestry resolved should be called St. Peter's, was opened for worship 4 September 1761.

Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* for 10 September 1761 thus describes the opening service:

* Jefferys, *Provincial and Revolutionary History of St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia*, 16.

"The officiating clergy, and several of their Brethren together with the Church-Wardens and Vestrymen, met at Christ Church from whence they walked in regular procession to the Governor's House, and being there joined by his Honour and some members of his Council, went on to St. Peter's where an animated and well adapted Sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Smith, Provost of the College in this City, to a polite and crowded audience from these words: 'I have surely built thee an house to dwell in, a settled place for thee to abide in forever.' 'But will God indeed dwell on the earth? behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded?' 'The Lord our God be with us, as he was with our fathers; let him not leave us, nor forsake us.' 'That all the people of the earth may know that the Lord is God, and there is none else.' I Kings viii, 13, 27, 57, 60. Everything was conducted with the utmost Decency, Order, and Solemnity; and after the Sermon the words of the text, which had been previously composed into an Anthem were elegantly sung by a Number of Ladies and Gentlemen to the vast Satisfaction of every Body present." *

We do not know who had "previously composed" this text into an anthem, and nothing is said of any instrumental support for the "ladies and gentlemen" by whom it was so "elegantly sung." But we do know that music, and music beyond the mere singing of Metrical Psalms, played a part in the first service ever held within the walls of St. Peter's Church. The fact that the words of the sermon text were made into an anthem indicates a primitive attempt at unity in the construction of the service.

About this time also another new Church, St. Paul's, was launched by personal followers of the Rev. William McClenaghan, who was the ecclesiastical trouble maker

* Quoted by Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 27; cf. Smith, *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.*, I, 279-280.

of the day. As early as 1762 an organ was built for this Church by Philip Feyring,* a German by birth, who had made a local reputation for building excellent spinets and harpsichords, and whom Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* proclaimed the best hand at the "ingenious business" of building organs on the continent.† Within a year and a half after the opening of St. Peter's steps were taken to provide an organ for it, too, as this Vestry minute shows:

"The vestry agreed to the erecting of an organ in St. Peter's Church, provided that neither the said organ, nor the organist, shall be any charge to the churches, until the debt for building St. Peter's Church is paid."‡

Again Feyring was the builder, and a Vestry minute of 2 November 1763, regarding the opening of a subscription to build an organ for Christ Church, states that the organ had already been placed in St. Peter's.§ The presence of such a noted organ builder evidently led all three of the Episcopal Churches of the city to take advantage of his skill within the space of three years. The needs of the two new Churches may have spurred the mother Church to make this rather large outlay so soon after the building of the steeple and the importation of the bells. In 1761 Mrs. Mary Andrews had bequeathed £100 to Christ Church to be applied on the purchase of an organ.|| When the Vestry decided to embark on the undertaking in 1763, £500 was the sum set to be raised. Whatever sum was agreed upon by Feyring and the Committee, it is recorded

* Barratt, *Old St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*, 41.

† Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 91.

‡ Dorr, *op. cit.*, 137.

§ Dorr, *op. cit.*, 145.

|| Dorr, *op. cit.*, 123.

that "the expense exceeded the estimate," and because the work was "well and faithfully done," the Vestry thought "Mr. Feyring ought to receive some proper allowance." * Anyway, the organ was installed in September 1766, and is said to have had three manuals and a two-octave pedal clavier, ranging upwards from a 16 ft. C. There were 27 stops distributed as follows: Great Organ 12; Swell Organ 7; Choir Organ 5; Pedal Organ 3; containing in all about 1607 pipes. There is some doubt as to whether the entire organ was installed immediately. It is possible that at first only the Great and Swell sections were installed, and that the instrument was later extended by the addition of the Choir and Pedal sections.† Likewise there is uncertainty regarding the old organ. As the organ which Feyring built is nowhere alluded to as a *new* organ, and a passage in the dedication of a book published in 1763, and hereafter to be described, reads: "It is highly probable there will be Organs erected in both our Churches before it be long," it seems clear that there was no organ in Christ Church at the time.‡ Indeed, a pamphlet published by William Dunlap, Philadelphia, in April 1763, entitled *The Lawfulness, Excellency, and Advantage of Instrumental Music in the Public Worship of God, &c*, a plea voiced by a Presbyterian for the use of the organ in Presbyterian churches in order to improve congregational singing, states that St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia, was "the only *English* (meaning Church of England) congregation in the Province" having an organ at that time, though the other two Episcopal

* Dorr, *op. cit.*, 159.

† Dorr, *op. cit.*, 325.

‡ Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 90.

Churches were then raising organ funds.* If this is so, what happened to the old organ Christ Church purchased from Spregel in 1728?

Up to this point no person who had anything to do with the making of music in the Churches has been mentioned. A Vestry minute of 22 April 1762 records that William Carteright was appointed "Clerk of St. Peter's Church in the room of John Harrison who resigned."† The clerk's position was an important one in the 18th century. The word is an abbreviation of the Latin word *clericus*, and originally all clerks were in Holy Orders. But when Minor Orders ceased to be conferred in the English Church after the Reformation, it became the custom to appoint laymen to fulfill their functions. In the 17th and 18th centuries, owing to changed conditions of Church life, clerks were generally reduced to one in a parish. They led the singing, often "setting" the Psalm tune and acting as Precentor, as well as making responses vicariously for the congregation.‡ It was customary for trials or examinations in reading and singing to be held before an appointment was made.§ William Young was appointed to the position at St. Peter's in 1765, and held it, with some interruptions, for a number of years. He was a bookseller and publisher|| who had helped in teaching and instructing the children of the united congregations in the art of Psalmody. To him, and to his collaborator in the undertaking, Francis Hopkinson, the Vestry ex-

* Benson, *op. cit.*, 185.

† Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 56.

‡ Hook, *A Church Dictionary*, 208-209.

§ Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 56.

|| Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 89.

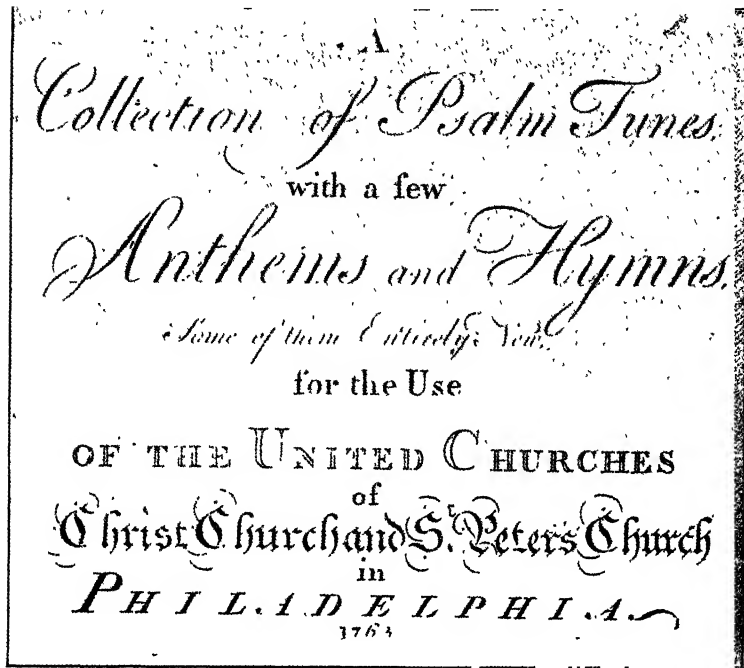
pressed their thanks for the good work done under date of 3 April 1764.*

No account of the music of the Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania could possibly omit mention of the name of Francis Hopkinson. In fact he is its most shining light. A distinguished jurist, signer of the Declaration of Independence, poet and musician, he was a faithful and devoted Churchman, placing his time and talents freely at the disposal of the Church. Besides being a skillful performer on the harpsichord, Hopkinson played the organ acceptably, and has, so far, the best claim to being America's first native composer.†

In 1763 there appeared a small book, now very rare, entitled: *A Collection of Psalm Tunes with a Few Anthems and Hymns Some of Them Entirely New for the Use of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church in Philadelphia. 1753.* This book was advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 5 May 1763, without any hint regarding the identity of its compiler. Much speculation has been aroused on this point. When it is remembered that Hopkinson's interest in Psalmody was so great that he was willing to assist the Parish Clerk in instructing the children in that art, and that he was engaged in doing so at this very period of his life, it seems but natural that he should compile and publish a collection such as this for the purpose. Indeed, the dedication of the volume to the Rector of the United Churches states this purpose categorically. The text of the dedication follows:

* Dorr, *op. cit.*, 147.

† See page 439 of this volume.

TITLE PAGE OF *A Collection of Psalm Tunes*

To the Rev. Mr. Richard Peters, Rector of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church, in Philadelphia.

Rev. Sir,

Among your many Designs for the Promotion of Religion in general, and the Good of the Churches more immediately under your Care, permit me to hope this Attempt to the Improvement of our Psalmody, or Church Music, will meet with your favourable Acceptance and Encouragement. Something

of this Kind was thought the more necessary, as it is highly probable there will be Organs in both our Churches, before it be long; which would be but a needless Expense if the Congregations could not join their Voices with them in the singing of Psalms. For this Purpose I have made this Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Anthems, and prefixed a few Rules for Singing, in as clear and easy a Manner as possible; so that Children, with very little Attention, may understand them.

Should this Undertaking meet with your Encouragement and Recommendation, I doubt not but it will be crown'd with due Success, and greatly improve that solemn Part of divine Service. If so, my End will be fully answered.

I am, Reverend Sir,
With great Respect,
Your most Obedient,
Humble Servant,
The Editor *

Conclusive proof that Hopkinson was the compiler seems to be established by the fact that the setting of the 23rd Psalm in the *Collection* is identical with the one in an important manuscript book of *Songs* in Hopkinson's handwriting, dated 1759, and there signed "F.H." † There is another Psalm tune signed by him in the eight pages of tunes appended to the "Proposed Prayer Book," for which we know that Hopkinson was responsible.‡

As to the contents of *A Collection of Psalm Tunes*, which we may now unhesitatingly claim as Hopkinson's work: § following the Dedication there is a short intro-

*From the copy in the possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

† Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 32, 91, 92. This manuscript book is now in the Library of Congress. (See p. 438 of this volume.)

‡ *Vide infra*.

§ Hastings, *Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson*, 74; Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 57.

duction to the art of Psalmody, a page of "Characters and Exercises," then ten pages of Psalm Tunes, twenty-six in number, in three-part harmony on three staves, marked treble, tenor, bass. The tunes are: ST. JAMES'S, CANTERBURY, YORK, COLESHILL, MEAR, ST. DAVID'S, ST. MARY'S, SOUTHWELL, WESTMINSTER, LONDON OLD, LONDON NEW, MARTYRS, ST. ANNE'S, BRUNSWICK, ST. HUMPHREY'S, PROPER TUNE TO THE 81ST PSALM, PROPER TUNE TO THE 100TH PSALM, STANDISH, BEDFORD, PORTSMOUTH OR NAMUR, THE NEW 100TH PSALM, PROPER TUNE TO THE 113TH PSALM, PROPER TUNE TO THE 119TH PSALM, PROPER TUNE TO THE 149TH PSALM, PROPER TUNE TO THE 148TH PSALM, and CAMBRIDGE. Then there are settings of five hymns in two parts: "Sing we Praises to the Lord" (also in the Hopkinson manuscript book); "When All Thy Mercies O My God"; "The Spacious Firmament on High"; "Thro' All the Changing Scenes of Life"; and "When Our Wearied Limbs." The next hymn, "My Soul Thy Great Creator Praise," is arranged as an air for two voices, with chorus in three parts. And finally there are five pieces in three parts: CHIDDINGSTONE; THE 4TH PSALM; THE 23RD PSALM, which is identical with the setting in Hopkinson's manuscript book, and known to be by him;* HALLELUJAH ("Praise the Lord Ye Immortal Choir"); and THE 98TH PSALM.

This little book must have attracted favorable notice at the time, and must have served its purpose well, for Hopkinson was engaged shortly afterwards by the Consistory of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of New York to make a Metrical Version of the Psalms in English, adapting them to the customary Dutch metres, so that the familiar Dutch tunes could be used with them.†

* Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 92.

† Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 93-94.

The book was published in 1767, and while Hopkinson's name appears nowhere in the book, his engagement for the task is recorded in the Church minutes under dates of 22 May and 29 June 1764, and his completion of the work is mentioned in a letter he wrote to Franklin dated 13 December 1765.*

We must now mention a few more of the makers of Church music who were contemporaries of Francis Hopkinson. Most important of these was James Bremner, an organist, music teacher, and composer, thought to have been a brother of Robert Bremner, the well-known music publisher, first of Edinburgh and later of London. James Bremner is an elusive character, and the piecing together of the scraps of definite information about him does not make anything like a complete picture. He apparently came to Philadelphia in 1763, and gave a concert at the Assembly Room 21 February 1764 for the benefit of the Organ Fund of St. Peter's Church. From this circumstance it has been assumed that he was probably the first organist of that Church.† This may have been so, but on the other hand, he may have given the concert simply as a bid for pupils. In any case, the Vestry minutes inform us that he was Organist of Christ Church in January 1767. As the new Feyring organ had been installed there only four months before,‡ it is a reasonable inference that he took the position as soon as the organ was ready. The next mention of Bremner is in this doubly interesting Vestry minute of 10 December 1770, where we read this widely quoted statement:

* Quoted by Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 94.

† Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 28.

‡ Dorr, *op. cit.*, 325.

"Mr. church-warden Hopkinson having been so obliging as to perform on the organ at Christ Church during the absence of Mr. Bremner, the late organist, the vestry unanimously requested of him a continuance of this kind office, until an organist should be appointed, or as long as it should be convenient and agreeable to himself.

Mr. Hopkinson cheerfully granted this request." *

It is likely that Bremner had not been gone long at this time, and a possible reason for his going may be found in a passage of a letter written to Francis Hopkinson by John Penn, the Lieutenant-Governor, while on a visit to England, 26 June 1772:

"I sympathize with you upon the deplorable state of music in Philadelphia . . . I wish I could relieve you but I have no acquaintance with any poor fellow that would venture to go to America upon an uncertainty. It is scandalous that Church people will not enter on to a subscription for a number of years to support a good organist or at least to make it worth his while to go over. If a thing of this kind could be set on foot and the Subscribers would be honest enough . . . no doubt Mr. Bremner could be induced to return among you, which must be more agreeable at any rate, than have a stranger you know nothing about, or who may be a low-lived fellow, we cannot be upon the same footing with that we can with him." †

In addition to the reason for his departure, this letter also indicates the esteem in which Bremner was held by such important persons as Hopkinson and John Penn. Bremner did return to Philadelphia, but just when is uncertain, though the *Diary* of James Allen mentions him as being Organist of Christ Church, 1 February 1774.‡

* Dorr, *op. cit.*, 163.

† Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 47.

‡ Quoted by Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 28.

That he died in September 1780, we know from a notation appended to the dirge which Francis Hopkinson wrote in his memory. The words have survived,* but the music apparently has perished.

Reporting the Commencement of the College of Philadelphia, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of 19 November 1767 states that

“an Ode, set to Music, was sung by Mr. John Bankson, with great Sweetness and Propriety, accompanied by the Organ, &c. under the Conduct of a worthy son of the College, who has often shewn his Regard to the Place of his Education, by honouring it, on public Occasions, with ready Service.” †

Undoubtedly this “worthy son of the College” was Francis Hopkinson, and it is likely that he also wrote the music for the Ode. However that may be, the singer, John Bankson, must have been a good, all-around musician, for three years later, 10 December 1770, he was appointed Organist of St. Peter’s Church.‡ This appointment was made by the Vestry at the request of the young man’s father, Andrew Bankson, one of the original Vestrymen of St. Paul’s Church.§ Perhaps he wanted the experience, for he agreed to serve without remuneration until the Church funds were in better condition. Five years later the Vestry made him a present of £10.||

As the Revolution drew to a close, signs of increased interest in musical matters in the Church, auguring well

* Hopkinson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, 184, quoted by Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 105.

† Hastings, *op. cit.*, 174.

‡ Dorr, *op. cit.*, 163.

§ Barrett, *op. cit.*, 32; Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 58.

|| Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 58.

for the future, began to manifest themselves. In December 1782 a Committee was appointed to regulate the singing at St. Peter's Church, and especially to make arrangements with Matthew Whitehead, or some other suitable person, "to instruct twelve persons in singing to accompany the organ." * Here we have the first mention of a choir at this Church.

Sonneck reminds us that Philadelphia could not boast of any trained choruses to sing choral music until a few years after the war.† He further says: "Of course there were the so-called singing schools of olden times which provided the Churches of the city with a nucleus of ladies and gentlemen fairly well grounded in church music, but from congregational and choir singing, that is to say, from the usual psalms, hymns and anthems to cantatas, oratorios and secular choral works of larger compass is a wide step." Men like William Tuckey sought to correct this state of affairs, but their efforts were largely frustrated by lack of ability and lack of interest. In 1784 Andrew Adgate founded what he called "The Institution for the Encouragement of Church Music," which had many difficulties and several transformations, as "The Uranian Society," and "The Uranian Academy of Philadelphia." But jealousy arose between some professional instrumentalists and the non-professional Mr. Adgate, which led to controversy and the decline of the Society, Adgate himself perishing in the yellow fever epidemic of 1793.

These jealousies sometimes had amusing consequences, as may be seen in the case of Andrew Law, a cultivated teacher of Psalmody from New England, who

* Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 60.

† Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 102.

had a varied and erratic career. He was instructing a class in Philadelphia in 1783, and obtained permission to give a concert of religious music with his pupils at St. Peter's.* Apparently without consulting Rector or Vestry he began to sell tickets of admission to the Church for the concert. Of course the Church authorities were scandalized at this, and required him to return the money paid for these tickets to their purchasers, and to announce in the newspapers that admission would be free. While the concert was in progress a disturbance arose among the auditors, which was so serious that it led to arrests. The ring-leader appeared to be no less a person than the Clerk of St. Peter's, William Young, who was haled before the Vestry. He was severely reprimanded for his "rude and disorderly behaviour," and summarily dismissed from his position as Clerk. "Jealousy on the part of the Clerk at Law's success and popularity evidently caused this ungentlemanly conduct. Possibly Law had been training a choir to replace the Clerk, who therefore arranged a hostile demonstration." †

After the Revolution the Church found itself in a deplorable condition, frowned upon by many patriots because of its former connection with the English Establishment, an Episcopal Church without the Episcopate, a heterogeneous lot of parishes with little or no organization. The leadership, at least in the Middle Colonies, centered in William White, Rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's. He had been prepared for ordination by his predecessors, Richard Peters and Jacob Duché, and by the noted William Smith, first Provost of the College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania). Going

* Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 60, 61.

† Jefferys, *op. cit.*, 61.

to England to receive Holy Orders, as was necessary in those days, on his return in 1772 White became Assistant at the United Churches, rising to the position of Rector in 1779. The war over, after organization, the first task that faced the Church was the adaptation of the Liturgy to meet the new conditions. This was largely entrusted to Drs. White and Smith, who were collaborators and to a certain degree opponents. The immediate result of their labours was the publication of the famous "Proposed" Book of Common Prayer, in April 1786. While fortunately never adopted by the Church, this book is of interest to us because of the struggle to introduce hymns which its preparation precipitated, and also because of the inclusion of eight pages of tunes at the end of the book, showing the tunes in common use as the century was drawing to a close.

While the book was in the making, Dr. Smith pressed the matter of including more hymns and fewer Psalms. Dr. White was suspicious of any attempt to cut down the number of Psalms or to increase the number of hymns, yet he reluctantly permitted Dr. Smith's plan to go through without too much objection, perhaps owing to his great personal regard for Dr. Smith and for his ability, and perhaps because he sensed a demand for the increasing use of hymns. It is said that Dr. White never gave out a hymn in his own Churches unless he absolutely had to do so.* Once Dr. Abercrombie, one of his assistants, and more daring than most assistants, worked in a hymn by a clever ruse. He ended his sermon by quoting the first line of a hymn, having previously arranged with the choir to take up the hymn at that point and sing it through. Taken to task for it afterwards by the Rector,

* Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 220.

the assistant proceeded to argue the matter, but the unprecedented action was never repeated.*

While the Proposed Prayer Book was being put through the press, the matter of tunes for the Psalms and Hymns came up. Dr. White wrote to Dr. Smith, under date of 17 January 1786, that he had called Francis Hopkinson into consultation on this subject, and that they had selected a few tunes whose names Dr. White was enclosing, and which Hopkinson was then engaged in copying for the engraver. Dr. Smith replied in a long letter of 23 January that he had every confidence in Hopkinson's judgment, especially on the score of "elegance and taste," and that his association with the book would undoubtedly recommend it to many people. Dr. Smith wanted to add more tunes, but Dr. White would not hear of it. "You know tunes may be sung besides those printed," he said. "For my part, I am convinced that no circumstance impedes good singing in our churches so much as great diversity of tunes."† Dr. White later published a magazine article‡ in which he very strongly advocated the inseparable association of certain tunes with certain Psalms, and insisted upon keeping the number down to very few, as he said "no Church can want more than from a dozen to twenty tunes." In this connection, shortly before work began on the Proposed Prayer Book, and probably at the instance of the Rector, the Vestry of the United Churches of Christ Church and

* Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 221.

† Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 175.

‡ In *The Churchman's Magazine* for May and June, 1808, Vol. V, No. 5, p. 175: *Thoughts on the Singing of Psalms and Anthems in Churches.*

St. Peter's, under date of 3 April 1785, passed a resolution that "the clerks be desired to sing such tunes only as are plain and familiar to the congregations; the singing of other tunes, and frequent changing of the tunes being, to the certain knowledge of the vestry, generally disagreeable and inconvenient; and that the Church Wardens be directed to notify them of the same." * An instance of a Rector and Vestry being in complete accord! But the clerks apparently were not of like mind, or the resolution would not have been necesasry.

Not only was Francis Hopkinson responsible for the brief musical portion of the Proposed Prayer Book, but his opinion was also sought by Dr. White on matters of text and arrangement, both of the prose and metrical Psalms.† He had had ample experience at both of these tasks, as we have seen from his editing and publishing the *Collection of Psalm Tunes* for the use of Christ Church and St. Peter's, and from his work on the Psalter for the Reformed Dutch Church of New York.

A number of the tunes printed in the back of the Proposed Prayer Book had been used in Hopkinson's *Collection* of 1763, two only were listed in Bradford's Prayer Book of 1710, others were new. The list is as follows: ‡ ST. JAMES'S, CANTERBURY, COLESHILL, MEAR, BRUNSWICK, BEDFORD, ST. MATTHEW'S, CHRIST CHURCH, OLD 100TH, MORNING HYMN, ANGELS' HYMN, SHIPMAN, 50TH PROPER, NEWCASTLE, WIRKSWORTH, 149TH PSALM, PROPER TUNE FOR PSALM 96TH. In addition to the foregoing there are also three chant tunes, inserted, as Dr. White said, to please Hopkinson.

* Dorr, *op. cit.*, 203.

† Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 166, 172, 173, 175, 179, 187, 191.

‡ From the copy owned by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Proper Tune for Df. 96. th by FH. 7 th METIE.

CHANTS.

The image shows a handwritten musical score on aged paper. It consists of 12 staves of music. The first staff is titled 'Proper Tune for Df. 96. 7th by FH. 7th METIE.' in a cursive hand. The music is written in a single system, with staves connected by a large brace on the left. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines. The word 'CHANTS.' is written in the center of the page, between the 8th and 9th staves. The paper shows signs of age, including some staining and wear at the edges.

FINAL MUSIC PAGE OF THE "PROPOSED" PRAYER BOOK
From a copy in the Library of Congress.

This raises the question as to when chanting came into use in the Philadelphia Churches, a question which cannot be settled with any degree of certainty. It is discussed in a long letter from Hopkinson to Dr. White, undated, but probably written while their collaboration on the Proposed Prayer Book was in progress.* Obviously chanting had been introduced some time before this book appeared. It is most gratifying to learn from the letter mentioned that Hopkinson had very sensible ideas on the subject. If those concerned with the practical aspects of chanting had similar ideas there may have been at least a period of good chanting before the horrors of 19th century distortion seized upon the art. These facts seem to nullify the claim that chanting was first introduced to this country at St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, Massachusetts, on Christmas Day 1787.† Writing of the music of Trinity Church, New York, Dr. Messiter says: "It is difficult to believe that the music of Trinity Church, until nearly the end of the 18th century, was limited to metrical Psalms, with an occasional anthem to mark special occasions, and a voluntary on the organ. Of music in the Communion Service, celebrated at long intervals, we may be sure there was none; but it is reasonable to suppose that the shorter Canticles, Venite, Jubilate, Cantate, and Gloria Patri, or some of them were chanted, if there was any kind of regular choir, or even with the boys of the charity school. There is, however, no proof that it was done."‡ This statement holds equally true of conditions in the Philadelphia Churches, up to the writ-

* The letter may be found in Sonneck, *op. cit.*, 59-62.

† Brooks, *Olden-Time Music*, 78.

‡ Messiter, *op. cit.*, 25.

ing of Hopkinson's letter and the publication of the Proposed Prayer Book.

When this book appeared in April 1786, it did not receive a very warm reception, because of its radical departures from accepted Anglican precedent. Dr. White was elected Bishop of Pennsylvania at a Diocesan Convention, 14 September 1786. He sailed for England 2 November, and along with Dr. Provoost of New York, was consecrated to the Episcopate in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, 4 February 1787. Returning to America 7 April, Bishop White began his long Episcopate of forty-nine years. In 1789 the unification of the Church was effected, and a Prayer Book, with the objectionable features of the Proposed Book removed, was ratified. In this Prayer Book, the number of hymns was reduced to 27, the whole book of 150 Metrical Psalms restored, and no tunes were included. The book was printed in 1790, and the Psalms and Hymns in its Appendix thus made up the first authorized Hymnal of the Episcopal Church.

Meanwhile, a brilliant galaxy of musicians was gathering in Philadelphia. They were professionals, while most of the earlier musicians were amateurs. A number of them were related by ties of blood, and all by close association of interest and interplay of activity. Most of them came to this country from Great Britain within a decade after the close of the war, probably sensing that there would be a wide field here for the exercise of their talents as performers on instruments, singers, composers, teachers, managers, builders of instruments, publishers, and sellers of music.

Among the first to arrive was Alexander Reinagle (1756-1809), pianist, composer, and theatrical manager, who, though not specifically associated with the music of the Church in Philadelphia, was intimately connected



ALEXANDER REINAGLE

From a drawing by Joseph Muller.

with those who were, among both his family and friends. Reinagle was born in Portsmouth, England, the son of Joseph Reinagle, an Austrian musician. One of his brothers, Joseph, Jr., became a famous musician in Scotland. It was Alexander Robert, son of the younger Joseph, and nephew of Alexander, who became Organist of the Church of St. Peter-in-the-East, London, and wrote the famous hymn-tune *St. Peter*, a standard tune in most modern hymnals. A sister of Alexander married Johann

Georg Christoff Schetky, a German musician of note, prominently associated with Robert Bremner, brother of James Bremner, in the musical life of Edinburgh. Their son was George Schetky, one of the Philadelphia galaxy.

Alexander Reinagle studied both the theory and practice of music with Raynor Taylor, before either of them came to America. He arrived in New York in 1786, calling himself "member of the Society of Musicians in London." His proposals to settle in New York not meeting with sufficient encouragement, he went to Philadelphia after giving proof of his abilities to the New Yorkers in an excellent concert. In Philadelphia his talents were soon appreciated, and he became music teacher in the best families. He conducted and performed in numerous concerts, besides presiding at the harpsichord in opera in several cities, especially in Baltimore, before he and Wignell founded the New Theatre * at Philadelphia in 1793. This enterprise was in every respect remarkable, but too great a preference was given to opera, and the commercial success was not in keeping with the artistic. Reinagle displayed an astonishing activity as a composer and arranger during these years. He died at Baltimore 21 September 1809.

George Schetky (1776-1831) apparently came to Philadelphia in 1787 and joined his uncle, Alexander Reinagle, when only eleven years of age. He played the organ, all of the stringed instruments, and became a good conductor, besides being a singer, composer, and arranger of music. Among his most famous arrangements was one for "full band" of Katzwara's piano sonata *The Battle of Prague*, the great popularity of which is indicated by its imitations, notably the one by James Hewitt, entitled

* See page 400 of this volume.



JAMES HEWITT

From a painting made at the age of twenty-one.

The Battle of Trenton. Schetky formed a partnership with Benjamin Carr in the music publishing and selling business which existed for a number of years. He was one of the founders of The Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia,* and when he died was buried in St. Peter's Churchyard.

* Madeira, *Music in Philadelphia and the Musical Fund Society*, 60, 61.

The Nestor of the galaxy was Raynor Taylor (1747-1825). He was born in England and educated at the King's Singing School as one of the boys of the Chapel Royal.* After leaving the school, he was for many years established at Chelmsford as organist and music teacher. From there he was called to be the composer and director of the music at the Sadler's Wells Theatre. Taylor was a ballad-composer of some renown in England before he appeared in Baltimore, in October 1792, as "music professor, organist, and teacher of music in general, lately arrived from London." In the same year he was appointed Organist of St. Anne's Church, Annapolis, Maryland, but receiving no fixed salary, he found himself obliged to move after a few months to Philadelphia. Here, he was for many years Organist of St. Peter's Church and an outstanding instrumentalist as well as a composer of all types of music.

Taylor was also famous for his powers of improvisation. The old organ erected by Philip Feyring at St. Peter's in 1763 was soon thought to be too large and bulky. After ten years there was agitation for its removal, but nothing was done apparently until 1789, when the present gallery over the chancel at the east end of the Church was built and the organ moved there.† Four years later, Raynor Taylor came to St. Peter's as Organist, and his fine playing of the large Feyring organ, renovated and in its new location, must have astonished and delighted the congregation. This organ remained there until 1815, when it was supplanted by a new one.‡ per-

* Madeira, *op. cit.*, 51.

† Dorr, *op. cit.*, 214-215

‡ Dorr, *op. cit.*, 224.

haps owing to Taylor's initiative. Dying in 1825, Taylor too was buried in the yard at St. Peter's, and the white marble stone that marks his grave bears this legend:

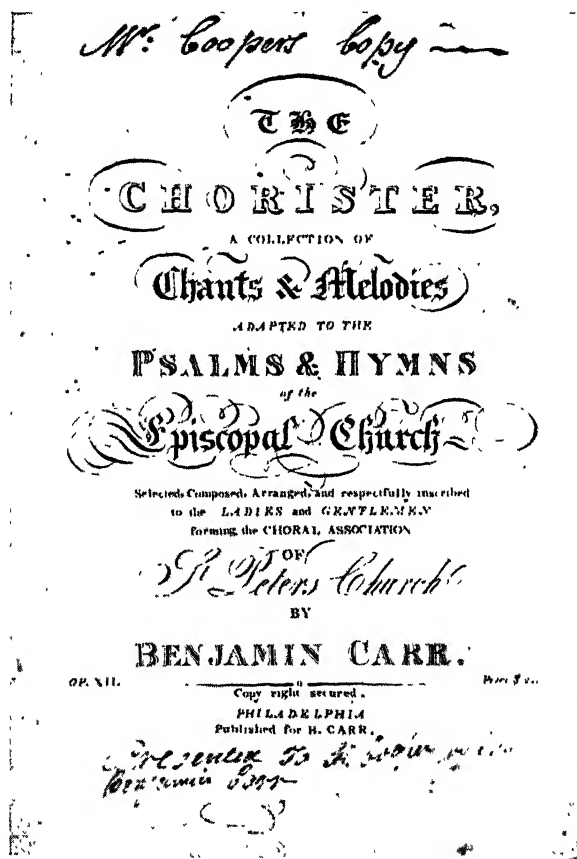
In Memory of Rayner (sic) Taylor, A distinguished Professor of Music, and many years Organist of St. Peter's Church, who died August 17th, 1825, in the 78th year of his age. This tribute of respect is erected by the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia.

By far the most provocative figure of this distinguished group of professional musicians was Benjamin Carr (1769-1831). He was connected with the "London Ancient Concerts" before he emigrated to New York early in 1793, where he immediately began his career as a music dealer and publisher. He did not long remain there, for we find him establishing a similar business in Philadelphia in July 1793,* which was carried on sometime after 1800 in partnership with George Schetky. Carr was a favorite of the American public as a ballad singer, and tried the operatic stage with some success in 1794. But his career as organist, pianist, concert manager, composer, and publisher was of far greater importance for the development of musical life in Philadelphia. Carr and his circle started the movement which gave Philadelphia such a striking musical development in those days when both the country and its musical life were in their infancy.

While the activities of Carr and most of his circle lie principally in the first quarter of the 19th century, they had their beginning in the 18th, and were well under way by the dawn of the new century. Carr took charge

* Fisher, *One Hundred and Fifty Years of Music Publishing in the United States*, 25.

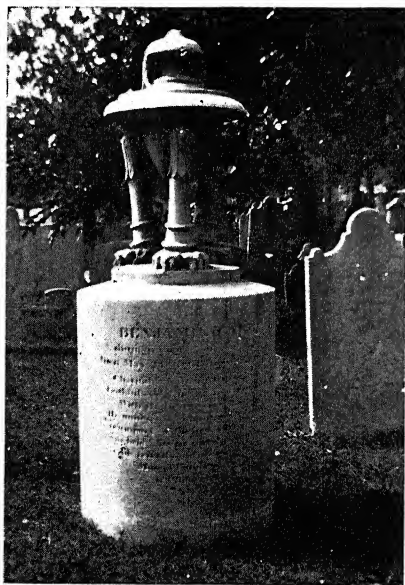
of the music of St. Augustine's Roman Catholic Church when it was opened in June 1801, and afterwards performed there portions of Handel's *Messiah* and Haydn's *Creation*. Later he succeeded Raynor Taylor as Organist of St. Peter's Church, and published for the use of that Church a small book entitled:



This book is only thirty-six pages long, and the copy-right notice is dated July 8, 1820. It contains a number of Carr's own compositions, a hymn tune by Schetky,

entitled *Edinburgh*, set to "Come We That Love the Lord," and pieces by other composers.

Carr preceded his friend and associate, George Schetky, to the grave by only a few months, and they are buried near each other in the churchyard of St. Peter's. The impression which he made upon his associates of The Musical Fund Society, of which he was a founder, is shown by the inscription on the monument which they erected there to his memory, and which seems to speak far more sincerely than is customary with the conventional language of colleagues:

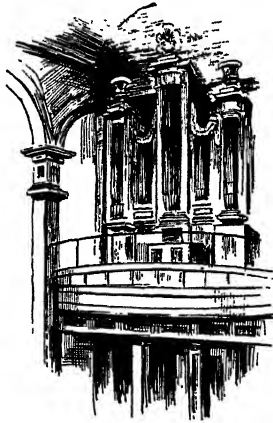


Benjamin Carr, A distinguished Professor of Music, Died May 24th, 1831, Aged 62 years. Charitable, without Ostentation, Faithful and true in his friendships, With the intelligence of a man, He united the simplicity of a child. In testimony of the high esteem in which he was held, this monument is erected by his friends and associates of the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia.

We have seen that most of this brilliant galaxy of post-Revolutionary musicians centered around St. Peter's Church. While we have followed them on into the early decades of the 19th century, it was their coming and establishment in the closing years of the 18th century that instilled new life into the art of Church Music at the beginning of the federal era and during the difficult but important formative years of the Church. As a present-day historian has well expressed it, "their coming hastened Euterpe's conquest of America." *

HERBERT BOYCE SATCHER

* John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music*, p. 114.



LUTHERAN AND REFORMED CHURCH
HYMNODY IN EARLY PENNSYLVANIA



D. MARTINVS LUTHERVS.
 nach dem von dessen eigenen Zeichnung.
 als derselbe 1546 von Eisleben durch Halle
 nach Wittenberg gebracht wurde, in Nachs ab-
 gedruckten Bildniß gezeichnet wie es noch bisie
 so in Halle auf der Bibliothek der Marien Kirche zu
 sehen.

MARTIN LUTHER FRONTISPIECE
 from the Muhlenberg Hymn Book of 1786

LUTHERAN AND REFORMED CHURCH HYMNODY IN EARLY PENNSYLVANIA

During the earlier half of the eighteenth century in Pennsylvania, the lines of demarcation among the German-speaking, music-loving people were less closely drawn than later. The roots of the pietistic sects and state church people were deep in the same unmistakable theological difference between the followers of Hus, Calvin, Menno Simons, Caspar Schwenkfeld and the Unitas Fratrum. They could, in some measure, praise the Lord on the same harp and cymbal.

These German people, of whatever group, on their coming to Pennsylvania brought with them their Bibles and hymn books. They were deeply attentive to the preaching of the Church. They were constantly singing the hymns of the Church. When Bibles and hymn books failed to supply the needs of the increasing out-flow from the Palatinate into Pennsylvania, they printed both to meet the demand. The press of Pennsylvania bears mute testimony to this, in the issues of the early Bradfords, Franklin, the Saur, Ephrata, and others. Edition after edition of hymnals came from one or another with unusual rapidity.

"Beginning with 1710," says Dr. Schmauk, author of *The Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, "a slow but steady immigration of Lutherans began, and in 1727 the immigration assumed large proportions. By the middle of the century fully one half of the population of the State is said to have been German, the Reformed and Lutheran predominating. The statement has been made that the Lutheran population in Pennsylvania, in 1750, aggregated sixty thousand."

Considerable attention was given in the first volume of this work to the church music of the Swedish Lutherans of New Sweden, along the Delaware, and to the Falkner Brothers, set apart from the ranks of the Wissahickon Hermits, by Swedish Lutheran Ordination, to the ministry and practice of the German Lutheran church. In this connection, but a few additional words are necessary. These are from Dr. Schmauk: "The first sacred building erected within the confines of the territory of Pennsylvania was a Lutheran church. The first songs of praise that went up to God from the shores of this State were those of the Lutheran liturgy. The first book in North America to be translated into the language of the American Indian was Luther's Catechism."

Between the Swedish and German Lutherans existed the strong bond of a common faith and a similar liturgy. This bond was strengthened through the efforts of the learned and broadminded Swedish clergymen, Dylander, Acrelius and von Rangel. It was the latter who assisted the great Muhlenberg in guiding and developing the German Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, in reconstructing the Synod, and in working out a congregational constitution and a common order of liturgy. "The German church in this State owes much to the advice and cooperation of Muhlenberg's friend, the Swedish provost, von Rangel." *

* These introductory paragraphs were prepared by Miss M. Ather-ton Leach. (Ed.)

HYMNOLOGY OF THE LUTHERAN
CHURCH

CHURCH MUSIC in the Lutheran Church has a long history. It reaches back to the Reformation and begins with Martin Luther, who was himself an excellent hymn writer and musician. In 1523 he issued his *Formulae Missae*, in which he removed from the Mass (as he still called the Sunday service) all that suggested a repetition of sacrifice and the adoration of the saints. He then turned his attention to a reorganization of church music. He had a double aim in view. During the Middle Ages church music, which had become a complicated performance, was restricted to the officiating priest and to the church choir, and moreover the music was set to Latin words. Luther wished to have the people take part in the singing. As a result, the hymns had to be in the vernacular and the music had to be simple. Thus, congregational singing and simplicity of music were the two characteristics of early Protestant singing.

In 1524, Luther published his first hymn book. It was entitled:

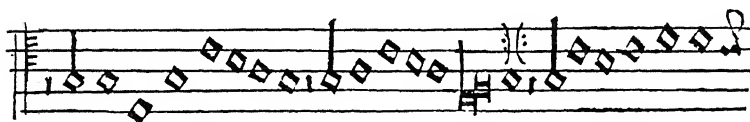
Etlich Christlich Lider, Lobgesang und Psalm, dem reinen Wort Gottes gemess, aus der heiligen Schrift, durch mancherley hochgelerter gemacht, in der Kirchen zu singen, wie es dann zum tayl berayt zu Wittenberg in übung ist. MDXIII.

(Some Christian hymns, songs of praise and psalms, in harmony with the Word of God, [taken] from Holy Scripture by various learned men; to be sung in churches, as is already in part the custom in Wittenberg.)*

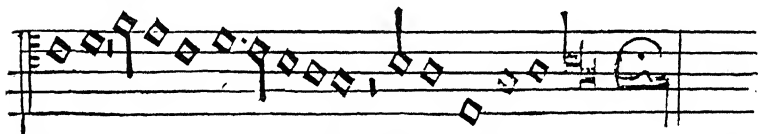
* The writer is under obligation to the authorities of Mt. Airy Lutheran Seminary, especially to Miss Eisenberg, assistant librarian, for kindly giving him free access to the Lutheran hymn books and other books in the library and allowing some of the more important ones to be reproduced here.

Ein Christenlichs lied Doctoris

Martini Luthers/die vnaussprechliche
gnaden Gottes vnd des rechten
Glaubens begreyffendt.



Nun frewt euch lieben christen gmeyn.



Nun frewt euch lieben Christen gmein/Vnd laßt vns frö-
lich springen/Das wir getrost vnd all in ein/Nit lust vnd
liebe singen/Was got an vns gewendet hat/Vnd seine süße
wunder that/Gar theur hat ers erworben.

Dem Teüffel ich gefangen lag/Im todt war ich verloren/
Mein sündt mich quellet nacht vñ tag/Darinn ich war ge-
boren/Ich viel auch ymmer tieffer dein/Es war kein güts
am leben mein/Die sündt hat mich besessen.

Mein güte werck die golten nicht/Es war mit in verdor-
ben/Der frey will hasset gots gericht/Er war zum güte er-
storben/Die angst mich zu verzweyffeln treyb/Das nichts
dann sterben bey mir bleyb/Zur hellen müß ich sincken.

“NUN FREUT EUCH (REJOICE NOW)”

Hymn by Martin Luther from the Luther Hymn Book of 1524

The book contains eight chorales, at least three of them based on Psalms. Five of these were included in the first Lutheran hymn book published in Pennsylvania, printed at Germantown in 1757. The same five appear also in the Reformed hymn book printed at Germantown in 1753.

Not all the chorales in the book of 1524 were by Luther. The second, *Es ist das Heyl uns kommen her*, is by Paul Speratus, Luther's friend and co-laborer. The most famous chorale is "De profundis," *Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir*, based on Psalm 130. The chorales were set to one-part music, being sung in unison.

Although the title page bears clearly the date 1514, this is a typographical error for 1524, because two of the hymns are explicitly dated in 1523 and two in 1524.

In 1624 Martin Opitz, a famous German poet (1597-1639), published his *Book of German Poetry*, in which he gave a new inspiration to German hymnody, showing on what principles it should be based and pointing out the directions in which it should develop. These new directions were eagerly followed by a host of Christian poets. In 1786, von Hardenberg could catalogue 72,733 German hymns, while today the number has far exceeded 100,000.*

The "Prince of German hymnists" was Paul Gerhardt. He was born in 1606 or 1607, in Electoral Saxony. Grown up to manhood he filled three pastorates, the first at Mittenwalde, the second at St. Michael's Church, Berlin, and the third as archdeacon at Lübben, Saxony. There he died in 1676. As a poet he is distinguished for depth of feeling. "His hymns," writes one critic, "hap-

* See Prottengeyer, in *Lutheran Church Review*, vol. 30, 1911, pp. 275-292.

pily combine simplicity with depth and force. They are the heart utterances of one who had simple faith in God, who recognized His fatherly Presence in the operations of nature, the superintendence of Providence and the daily bestowment of the surpassing gifts of redemption." They are intensely personal and express his personal religious experiences. Among his 120 hymns there are sixty that begin with "I." J. S. Ebeling, music director of Gerhardt's church in Berlin, published Gerhardt's hymns in 1667, with music of his own composition. They passed through numerous editions and soon found their way into other hymnbooks.

There were and still are a large number of Lutheran hymn books in Germany. Formerly all the large and many of the smaller states of Germany had their own hymn books. But those which influenced American hymn books directly are few in number.

THE HALLE HYMN BOOK

One of the more important of those which directly affected American hymn books was the Halle Hymn Book, edited by the Rev. John Anastasius Freylinghausen, who was one of the outstanding pietistic theologians of Germany in the eighteenth century. He was born in 1680 and studied theology at Jena and Halle. At the latter place he attracted the attention of Dr. August H. Francke (1663-1728), founder of numerous Halle institutions. Freylinghausen became vicar at St. Ulrich's Church in Halle. Later he married a daughter of Francke and was made director of the Francke Orphans Home. He distinguished himself as author of one of the best known and most-used manuals of theology. He died in 1739.

Beginning with the year 1704, he published a hymn book called *Geistreiches Gesangbuch*, to which he contributed forty hymns. It was completed in 1714, in two volumes which contained no less than 1500 hymns. As this first, large edition was difficult to handle, later editions curtailed the number of hymns and, by employing smaller type, compressed them into a single volume of approximately 570 pages.

The second edition, of which a copy from the Lutheran Seminary at Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, is before the writer, has the following title:

Geistreiches Gesang-Buch, den Kern alter und neuer Lieder in sich haltend, in gegenwärtiger bequemer Ordnung und Form, nach denen unter diesem Namen allhier schon edirten Gesang-Büchern eingerichtet, herausgegeben von Joh. Anastasio Freylinghausen, Past. Adjuncto zu St. Ulrich. Editio II. Halle. In Verlegung des Waysenhauses. 1721. Mit Königl. Preuss. Privilegio.

(Spiritual Hymn Book, containing the nucleus of old and new hymns, arranged in the present handy order and form, in harmony with the hymn books, already published here, edited by John Anastasius Freylinghausen, assistant pastor in the St. Ulrich's Church. Second edition. Halle. Published by the Orphans Home [Press], 1721. With Royal Prussian privileges.)

There are 1056 hymns in this hymn book, arranged under sixty rubrics or headings. There are no tunes, but at the head of each hymn a tune is quoted, according to which the hymn may be sung. The preface, dated July 12, 1717, states that this new and abbreviated edition was published to meet a demand for a cheaper and handier hymn book. It is of interest to the history of Lutheran hymnology in Pennsylvania because the Synodical Hymn Book of 1786, published under the editorship of the Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg, was largely dependent upon it for its arrangement and contents.

MARBURG HYMN BOOK

The immediate source of the first Lutheran hymn book printed in Pennsylvania was the Marburg Lutheran Hymn Book, printed at Marburg, Germany. The Library of the Mt. Airy Lutheran Theological Seminary, in Philadelphia, contains a splendid collection of these Lutheran hymn books. The earliest edition of the Marburg Hymn Book found there goes back to the 1711. Its title reads:

Das neueste und nunmehr aller-vollständigste Marburger Gesangbuch, zur Uebung der Gottseligkeit, in christlichen trostreichen Psalmen und Gesängen Herrn D. Martin Luthers und ander Gottseliger Lehrer, ordentlich in XII Theile verfasst, und auf hohen und vornehmen Begehren mit dieser leserlichen Schrift herausgegeben, auch zur Beförderung des so Kirchen als Privat-Gottesdienstes, mit einem schönen Gebätt-Buss- Beicht- und Communion Büchlein vermehret in Marburg, allwo es druckt und verlegt Johann Henrich Stock, Fürstl. Hess. Canzley Buchdrucker, im Jahr 1711.

(The newest and now the most complete Marburg Hymn Book, for the practice of godliness, in Christian, comforting psalms and hymns of Dr. Martin Luther and other godly teachers, arranged in twelve parts, and, at the request of many high and distinguished persons, printed with this legible type, and edited for the promotion of the public divine services in churches as well as private devotions. Enlarged by a beautiful Prayer- Penitence- Confession- and Communion-Book in Marburg, where it is printed and published by John Henry Stock, Printer of the Princely Hessian Chancery, in the year 1711.)

An analysis of the book shows the following contents: An index of hymns, to be used on Sundays and special holidays, 21 pp.; 461 hymns, 639 pp.; a register or index of hymns, 18 pp.; a Prayer Book, with separate title, 32 pp.

When the Marburg Hymn Book was printed again by John Christian Stock, in 1747, the number of hymns had been increased to 615, and that remained the number of hymns in later editions. The following are in the collection at Mt. Airy Seminary: Marburg, Stock, 1747; Marburg and Frankfurt, Brönnner, 1763; Frankfurt, Brönnner, 1767, 1770, 1784, 1787, 1790. The copy of the 1770 edition was imported into Pennsylvania and given by the Lutheran pastor, the Rev. Lucas Rauss, to his daughter in 1781.

The Marburg Lutheran Hymn Book of 1763 has the following contents:

An index of hymns for various Sundays, 17 pp.; 615 hymns, 773 pp. The second part: Christian Prayer Book, with separate title page, 160 pp. It contains the prayer book of Dr. John Habermann, Luther's Shorter Catechism, with separate title; Gospels and Epistles, also with separate title.

The authors of the hymns are given in most instances. There is a group of 49 hymns, based on Psalms Nos. 138 ff. Hence it can be said that the Lutheran hymnbooks by no means overlooked the Psalms.*

LUTHERAN CHORALE BOOKS

As companions to the Lutheran hymnbooks a number of chorale books were published. The first is entitled:

Harmonischer Lieder-Schatz, oder Allgemeines Evangelisches CHORAL-BUCH welches die Melodien derer so wohl alten als neuen biss hieher eingeführten Gesänge unsers

* There is, however, this difference between Lutheran and Reformed hymn writers: the former based their hymns or chorales on the Psalms; the latter aimed to reproduce the Psalms as literally as possible.

Teutschlands in sich hält; Ferner finden sich darinnen die Melodien derer Hundert und Funffzig Psalmen Davids, wie solche in denen Gemeinden der Reformirten Kirche gesungen werden, benebst denen Frantzösischen Liedern, soviel deren itzo bekunnt worden; Zum Lobe Gottes und Beförderung der Andacht auffs sorgfältigste zusammen getragen, anbey durchgehends mit einem modernen General-Bass versehen, und samt einem Vorbericht in dieser bequemen Form ans Licht gestellet von Johann Balthasar König, Directore Chori Musices in Franckfurt am Mayn. Auf Kosten des Autoris, Anno 1738.

This elaborate title, somewhat abbreviated, may be translated as follows:

Treasury of harmonized hymns, or General Evangelical Chorale Book, which contains the melodies of old as well as new hymns, that have been introduced thus far into our Germany. . . . Further there are found in it the melodies of the 150 Psalms of David, as they are sung in the congregations of the Reformed Church; together with the French hymns, as far as they have become current thus far; For the praise of God and the cultivation of devotion most carefully collected and provided throughout with a general bass part; published together with an introduction in this handy form by John Balthasar Koenig, choir director in Frankfurt on the Main. (Printed) at the expense of the author, in the year 1738.

This chorale book was no doubt a private venture and was intended to be used by both the Lutheran as well as the Reformed churches.

Another chorale book, intended exclusively for Lutheran churches, was edited by Johann Georg Stoerl, and was entitled:

Neu bezogenes Davidisches Harpfen und Psalter-Spiel. Schlag und Gesangbuch und Noten Buch, Stuttgardt, 1744.

(Newly strung plays of harps and psalteries, also hymn book and tune book, Stuttgart, 1744.)

These tune books, together with the Lutheran hymn books, were brought to Pennsylvania and used in the Lutheran churches. Thus we are led to the conclusion that the Lutheran churches of Pennsylvania were well provided with the material for good church music.

THE MARBURG LUTHERAN HYMN BOOK IN
PENNSYLVANIA

When we turn from Germany to Pennsylvania we find that the Marburg Lutheran Hymn Book, reprinted by Christopher Saur in Germantown, differed but little from its European original. For long it was thought that the first edition of this hymnal was issued by Saur in the year 1759, and it is so recorded by Prof. Seidensticker in his *First Century of German Printing in America*, p. 51, but during the research made by the writer he came upon an earlier edition in the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. It was an edition of the year 1757. The title page is the same as the 1759 edition and may be rendered into English as follows:

Complete Marburg Hymn Book, for the practice of godliness, in 615 Christian and comforting Psalms and hymns of Dr. Martin Luther and other devout teachers; arranged properly in XII parts, for the promotion of the divine service as well as for private devotions. Together with morning and evening prayers and those for repentance confession and communion. Germantown, printed and sold by Christopher Saur, 1757.

Collation: Directions for the use of Psalms and hymns on all Sundays and holidays, 10 pp.; Hymns and Psalms, including also a "New Appendix," 486 pp.; Newest Appendix, pp. 486-527; Index, 8 pp.; Prayers, 9 pp.; Gospels and epistles (with separate title page, dated

1758); a history of the destruction of Jerusalem, and church prayers, 96 pp.

The main body of the book contains 429 psalms and hymns, pp. 1-336. This may mark the original Marburg Collection. To it was added (as in the later European editions) a new appendix, hymns 430-615, on pp. 336-486. Then there is further added a "newest appendix," hymns 1-34, on pp. 486-527, which is not in the European editions.

The 615 hymns in the American editions are the same as those in the European Marburg Hymn Book. Even the curiously mixed hymn of Henry Suso (1300-1365) is retained. It is a Christmas hymn, whose first verse reads:

*In dulci júbilo,
Nun singet und seyt froh,
Unsers Herzens Wonne
Ligt in praesepio (crib)
Und leuchtet als die Sonne,
Matris in gremio (bosom)
Alpha es et O,
Alpha es et O. (Hymn No. 21, p. 13)*

It may well be doubted that this hymn was ever sung in Pennsylvania. But other Christmas hymns found in this hymn book are still sung today, especially:

*Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her,
Ich bring euch gute neue Mär, and
Frölich soll mein Herze singen,
Dieser Zeit, da vor Freud alle Engel singen.*

There are no tunes in this book, but in the heading of each hymn a tune is quoted, according to which the hymn may be sung. This Lutheran hymn book was also popular in Pennsylvania, as is evidenced by the numerous editions which have come to the notice of the writer:

Germantown, Saur, 1757; Germantown, Saur, 1759; Germantown, Saur, 1762; Germantown, Saur, 1770; Germantown, Saur, 1774; Germantown, Saur, 1777; and Philadelphia, Carl Cist, 1799, pocket edition, in small type.

As these hymnbooks were a private venture of Saur, they are not referred to in the official records of the Lutheran Church.

MUHLENBERG HYMN BOOK

In course of time the private hymn books published by Saur were superseded by an official hymnbook issued by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The agitation for such an official hymnbook began in 1782, when Revs. Muhlenberg, Sen., Kunze, Helmuth, and Muhlenberg, Jun., were appointed a committee to prepare a hymn book for print.

They received the following instructions:

(1) As far as possible to follow the arrangement of the Halle Hymn Book.

(2) Not to omit any of the old, standard hymns, especially those of Luther and Paul Gerhardt.

(3) To omit the Gospels and Epistles for the Apostles' Days, Minor Festivals and the history of the destruction of Jerusalem, together with the collection of prayers and the catechism.

(4) To report all this, together with incidental changes, to a special meeting of the Synod.

(5) Not to print more than 750 hymns.*

It was also resolved that Mr. Steiner print the whole work and that Muhlenberg, Sr., prepare the preface and that it be signed by all the united preachers.

* See *Documentary History*, p. 184.

In the following year it was resolved concerning the new hymn book, (1) That the number of copies be fixed at 1000; (2) That the destruction of Jerusalem and the Catechism of Luther remain without additions; (3) That the Litany be transferred to the Prayer Book; (4) That the committee previously appointed meet again on the second Tuesday in September at Philadelphia, complete the entire collection, and with the consent of the other members of the Ministerium who might be present give it into the hands of the printer, and (5) That the preface prepared by Muhlenberg, Senior, be printed unchanged, with a slight addition from Pliny concerning the hymns of the early Christians. In 1784, when difficulties had apparently arisen with the printer, Steiner, it was resolved to make another effort, and if Steiner refuse, to try another printer. Finally, in 1785, it was reported that the hymn book was in press, but it was resolved that Messrs. Helmuth, W. Kurz and Muhlenberg, Jun., be a committee to reduce the number of hymns, and Messrs. Helmuth and Schmidt to alter and shorten many of the hymns and attend to the printing of the hymn book.*

The book actually appeared in 1786, entitled:

Erbauliche Lieder-Sammlung zum Gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch in den Vereinigten Evangelisch Lutherischen Gemeinden in Nord America; Gesamlet, eingerichtet und zum Druck befördert durch die gesammten Glieder des hiesigen Vereinigten Evangelisch Lutherischen Ministeriums. Erste Auflage. Germantown, Gedruckt bey Leibert und Billmeyer, 1786.

(Collection of edifying hymns, for the divine services in the united Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in North America. Collected, arranged and prepared for the press by all the members of the United Lutheran Ministerium here. First edition. Germantown. Printed by Leibert & Billmeyer, 1786.)

* *Documentary History*, pp. 189-200.

ENGLISH LUTHERAN HYMN BOOKS

The earliest Lutheran hymn book in English was printed in New York in 1756. Like the German Lutheran Hymn Book it was a reprint of a European original. And, although privately printed in New York, it was most likely used in Pennsylvania also. Its title page is reproduced on the opposite page.

Collation: Dedication, 2 pp.; Preface, 2 pp.; 93 hymns, 188 pp. A Supplement to German Psalmody, done into English; 31 hymns, pp. 189-273. Another supplement of two hymns, pp. 274-279. Finally, an index to the English hymns and their German originals, filling 10 unnumbered pages.

Tunes are referred to in the title page, but they are not in the American reprint. It is called the third edition, because it was preceded by two London editions, the first of 1722, the second of 1732. The dedication is addressed to "their Royal Highnesses, the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal." It is signed by John Christian Jacobi, the author of the book. He was the keeper of the German Court Chapel in London, during the pastorates of the Rev. Wm. Anthony Boehme, Court Chaplain, 1705-1722, and the Rev. Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, Chaplain, 1722-1750.

Dr. B. M. Schmucker states with regard to the book: "The collection is made up of the choicest hymns of the best authors. It is after a very pure Lutheran type. There is a very slight representation of the later pietistic school, toward which the chaplains Boehme and Ziegenhagen leaned. If the translations only had the same merits and excellencies as the originals, the Psalmody would be invaluable. But it must be confessed that very

Psalmodia Germanica :
OR, THE
GERMAN PSALMODY.

Translated from the

HIGH DUTCH.

D. Christoph. Jesen
TOGETHER

With their proper TUNES, and
thorough BASS.

*The THIRD EDITION,
Corrected and very much Enlarged.*

*Non Vox, sed Votum, non Musica chordula sed
Cor, non clamans, sed amans cantat in Aure
Dei.*

LONDON, Printed :

NEW-YORK, Re-printed, and sold by
H. GAINÉ, at the *Bible & Crown*, in
Queen-Street, 1756.

few of them have any such qualities as to secure their use in any later collections which were marked by critical tastes. One of them, No. 404, was admitted into the Church Book, in nearly its original form." * But of the original German hymns no less than 66 are found in the *Kirchenbuch*, of later date.

The second English hymn book published for the Lutheran Church in the 18th century was also printed in New York. Its title reads:

A Hymn and Prayer Book. For the use of such Lutheran churches as use the English Language. Collected by John C. Kunze, D.D., Senior of the Lutheran Clergy in the State of New-York:—Printed and sold by Hurtin and Commardinger, No. 450. Pearl-Street. (With Privilege of Copy Right.) 1795.

Collation: 220 hymns, 271 pp. Appendix, Hymns Nos. 221-240, pp. 272-299. Index, 2 pp. and 163 pp. of liturgical and other prose matter. Contains the Liturgy, the Epistles and Gospels for the year, Luther's Shorter Catechism, Fundamental Questions, the Order of Salvation, and Christian Duties.

With regard to the sources of the hymns, Dr. Kunze informs us in the preface, pp. iv-v:

"Most of the hymns are translations from the German. All except those in the appendix are taken from printed books, particularly the German Psalmody, printed in London and reprinted in New York by H. Gaine, in 1756, and from a collection of the Moravian Brethren Hymn Book, printed in London, 1789. In the appendix are added a few of my own and of the Rev. Messrs. Ernst and Strebeck's, both translations and original compositions."

* Dr. B. M. Schmucker in *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. VII, 1888, pp. 224-233.

Mr. Frederick M. Bird expresses the following estimate of its literary character:

"The literary merit varies greatly. Some few verses are excellent, more are respectable, most are indifferent and negative, while several are better adapted to kindle mirth than devotion." *

Among the manuscript Lutheran tune books brought to this country and now preserved in the Mt. Airy Lutheran Seminary Library, Philadelphia, is a *Choralbuch* of Johann Heinrich Goettel, dated "Collweyler 1759." From the book itself we learn that Goettel left his home in the Palatinate and came to Philadelphia, bringing his wife and seven children, in 1785. Family tradition has it that Goettel settled near St. Michael's Church, in Berks County, where he was probably the organist. He brought with him a piano which is still in the possession of his descendants, and of which a photograph is inserted into the *Choral Buch*.

It is a large book, 17x22 cm., written by an elegant hand, but somewhat confused, without numbering of the hymns and without an index. The author must have known the book thoroughly, for how could he otherwise have found any hymn in the book? It contains many well known tunes, such as *Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier*, used as an opening hymn for the church service, which is reproduced on the following page. From the fact that the book contains hymns found not in the Marburg Reformed Hymn Book but in the Marburg Lutheran Hymn Book we may infer that it was truly a Lutheran Chorale Book, used in the Lutheran service.

* See Frederic M. Bird, "Lutheran Hymnology", in the *Lutheran Church Review*, Vol. XVI, 1865, pp. 23-46.

Herrlicher Gott, wir wünschen dir, o. u. g.
 Herrlicher Gott, wir wünschen dir, o. u. g.
 Herrlicher Gott, wir wünschen dir, o. u. g.

A PAGE FROM THE MANUSCRIPT CHORALE BOOK OF JOHANN GOETTEL

SPECIAL CHURCH SERVICES

Of the many special church services which typify church life in Pennsylvania, we select one as a sample. It was the reconsecration of St. Michael's Lutheran Church in Germantown, which took place on November 1, 1752. For this occurrence Mr. Muhlenberg had composed a special consecration hymn of 36 stanzas, which was in part sung at this occasion. The service is described in full in the Diary of the pastor, the Rev. John Frederick Handschuh: *

"The services were begun by singing the hymn '*Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott.*' The first two verses, the ministers sang alone, accompanied on the harp by the schoolmaster, the third verse was sung by the whole congregation. Rev. Mr. Brunnholtz commenced the consecration with a beautiful address at the altar, suited to the circumstances. Following which the Swedish Provost Acrelius consecrated the church itself. After the consecration, all the ministers kneeling around the altar, each one offered prayer suited to the occasion, in the following order, viz. Muhlenberg, Kurz, Schaum, Weygand, Heinzelman, Schulze, Schrenck, Rauss, and I (Handschuh) closed. Then we ministers sang, accompanied by the harp, the 22nd and 23rd verses of the printed consecration ode,† which reads thus (v. 1):

* Extract from the *Historical Sketch of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of St. Michael, Germantown, Pa.*, by its pastor, the Rev. J. W. Richards, D.D., 1845, p. 26. A Ms. in the library of Mt. Airy Lutheran Seminary.

† No copy of this ode, printed by Saur, has been seen by the writer. But there is a copy in the Archives at Halle, Germany. It was printed in *Hallesche Nachrichten*, new ed., I, 466-469.

*Himmel, Meer und die Erde zeugen, Herr, von deiner Majestät,
Warum sollte dein Volck schweigen, das dies Haus zu weihen geht,
Um dein Wort darin zu hören und dadurch sich zu bekehren,
Von der Finsterniss zum Licht—Herr, sei gnädig, zürne nicht.*

“Rev. Mr. Rauss read the 15th Psalm. Then the whole congregation sang the 7, 8, and 9th verses of *Sey Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gott*. Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg delivered a beautiful and searching consecration sermon from the words John 5: 1-9, making applicatory reflections, excellently suited to the occasion. After the sermon, hymn 620, ‘*Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme*’, was sung alternately with the choir. Then a negro, 30 years of age, was baptized. Further, hymn No. 97, ‘*Lamm Gottes unschuldig*’, was sung. All the ministers kneeling, Mr. Muhlenberg led in the service of confession of sins, Rev. Mr. Brunnholtz saying the words: *Herr Gott, Vater im Himmel, erbarme dich unser*. I consecrated the elements for the Lord’s Supper and administered the Supper first to the Brethren in the ministry, among whom was the Swedish Provost Acrelius, and lastly Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg administered it to me. Hereupon was sung: ‘*Wie bin ich doch so herzlich froh.*’ Then the benediction was pronounced, and the words sung: ‘*Unsern Ausgang segne Gott.*’

“Something so lovely, so pleasant and so edifying as this whole ceremony, I never saw in this country, no, not even in Germany, for we ministers were all one heart and one soul.”

* * * * *

Dead March & Monody

Performed in the Lutheran Church Philadelphia on Thursday the 26th December 1799 being Part
of the Music Selected for Funeral Honours to our late illustrious Chief.

General George Washington.

Composed for the occasion and respectfully dedicated to the
Senate of the United States.
by their Obedt. humble Servt B: Carr

Dead March
very Slow

Monody Sung by Miss Broadhurst
Slow and Piz

Sad are the tidings rumour tells a
grateful people mourn his end a noble brave and just he dwells in

Dead March & Monody BY BENJAMIN CARR

Composed for the Lutheran services in memory of George Washington. From the copy (published by J. Carr, Baltimore, in 1799 or 1800) in the Library of Congress.

HYMNOLOGY OF THE REFORMED
CHURCH

WHEN the first German Reformed (as well as Lutheran) settlers came to Pennsylvania, they brought with them not only their religion, but also the outward means to practice their religion, their Bibles, hymn books and Catechisms. Thus it is to Europe that we must look for the origins of Pennsylvania Reformed hymnody.

When the Reformation began in Switzerland through the labors of Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin, the effort was made to go back to apostolic simplicity and to customs sanctioned by the Bible. The only singing which seemed to them to have the stamp of divine approval was the singing of Psalms. Were they not written by divinely inspired singers? And were they not preferable to hymns, composed by human genius? Moreover, the Psalms are an important part of the Scriptures and are thereby distinguished from all merely human compositions. Such were the arguments used by the contemporary leaders themselves. Hence their desire was to present the Psalms in metrical form and in the vernacular, so that the people might sing them, following the example of the Jewish Church. This explains why for nearly 200 years nothing was sung but Psalms in most of the German Reformed as well as other Reformed churches.

For the beginnings of Reformed Church psalmody we must look to the very beginnings of the Church itself. In 1539 John Calvin, then a refugee in Strasbourg, published (following the example of Luther) 18 Psalms with tunes, mostly of German origin. Then there followed,

in 1542, the Huguenot Psalter of Geneva, set to music by Louis Bourgois, a Parisian music master settled in Geneva.

In the same year, 1542, appeared a metrical version of thirty Psalms by Clément Marot (1495-1544). This version was completed in 1555 by Theodore Beza, the successor of Calvin in Geneva. It was set to music by Claude Goudimel, a French Huguenot, who suffered death at Lyons, during the St. Bartholomew massacre in 1572. This version of Marot and Beza was translated into German verse by Ambrosius Lobwasser (1515-1585), professor at the university of Koenigsberg and Brandenburgian State Councillor, who dedicated his book to the Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg. The Elector of the Palatinate, Frederick III, ordered this version to be introduced into his churches in 1565. From that date until the end of the eighteenth century, this version of Lobwasser remained the favorite version of the Psalms in the German Reformed churches, and was brought to Pennsylvania in Reformed Church hymn books.

Lobwasser did not use any music of his own composition in his version, but he simply took over the French tunes of Goudimel, so that his version was dependent, both in its text as well as its music, upon French originals. Being a translation of a translation, the result was not very satisfactory. The poetry was crude and in some places wretched, offending modern taste. Corrections and improvements were made in later editions, which removed some archaic words and obscure phrases. But, in spite of all its crudities and imperfections, the version of Lobwasser held its own, because, as the editor of the hymnbook of the Lower Rhine region stated in 1738: "Lobwasser had endeavored to retain the very

words of King David, as far as it was possible, according to the original text." Thus the very fact of its literalness, to which we object most at present, was then regarded as its very excellence.

Lobwasser's version appeared in countless editions. One of them, a copy of which is before the writer,* was issued in Zurich in 1723. Its title reads:

Die Psalmen Davids, durch Doct. Ambrosium Lobwassern, in Teutsche Reimen gebracht; Da bey jedem Psalmen das erste Stuck zu vier Stimmen gesetzt, übrige aber durchaus mit Noten versehen. Samt anauserlesenen Psalmen, auch Fest-Kirchen und Haus-Gesängen, Wie auch Fest und Nachtmahls-Andachten, herausgegeben und mit sonderbarem Fleiss übersehen. Zürich, Bey Heidegger und Rahn, 1723.

(The Psalms of David, translated into German rhymes by Dr. Ambrosius Lobwasser, in which in every Psalm the first verse is set to music in four parts and the rest are throughout provided with notes. Together with other selected Psalms, and other hymns for festivals and home use, as also devotional services on Festivals and the Lord's Supper, Examined and edited with special care. Zurich, by Heidegger and Rahn, 1723.)

Collation: Index to Lobwasser's psalms, 4 pp. Index to other Psalms and hymns, 2 pp. Lobwasser's Psalms, provided with four-part music, 680 pp. Other Psalms, with separate title and one-part tunes, 56 pp. Hymns and songs of praise, with separate title and one-part tunes, pp. 57-116; catechism hymns and hymns for home use, with one-part tunes, pp. 117-220; prayers, 20 pp. (incomplete text).

Although the ban on man-written hymns was long observed in Reformed churches, by the middle of the

* The writer is under obligation to Mr. Herbert B. Anstadt, Custodian of the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, at Lancaster, Pa., who gave him free access to the Reformed hymn books under his care and also permitted the loan of many of these books for home study.

eighteenth century the powerful spiritual poems of Joachim Neander (1650-1680), Friedrich Lampe (1683-1729), Gerhard Teerstegen (1697-1769), and other Reformed hymnodists had begun to win their way into psalm collections intended for use in Reformed churches. The earliest of these collections in which hymns were added to Psalms, a copy of which is now possessed by the writer, was published by the Reformed churches of the Lower Rhine region in 1738.

In 1731, the General Synod of the Duchies of Julich, Cleve, Berg and Mark determined to publish a new hymn book, following the lead set by other Evangelical churches. This resolution was confirmed by the Synod of Düsseldorf, held in the Duchy of Berg in 1734. The hymnbook appeared in 1738, under the following title:

Neu-verbessertes Kirchen-Gesang-Buch, verfassend die 150. Psalmen Davids, in deutsche Reimen gebracht von Ambrosio Lobwasser, Doctore und Professore zu Königsberg, auch Chur Brandenburg-Preussischer Rath; nebst 150. auserlesenen und geistreichen Kirchen-Liedern, sambt dem Heidelbergischen Catechismo revidiret, approbiret und herausgegeben durch den Christlichen Synodum Generalem der Reformirten Kirchen in den vereinigten Ländren Cleve, Gülich, Berg und Marck. Lippstadt, gedruckt bey Adolph Henrich Meyer, Privil. Buchdrucker, 1738.

(Newly improved Church Hymn Book, containing the 150 Psalms of David, rendered into German rhymes by Ambrosius Lobwasser, Dr. and professor at Koenigsberg and Electoral Brandenburgian and Prussian Councillor; together with 150 selected spiritual church hymns, the Heidelberg Catechism revised, approved and edited by the Christian General Synod of the Reformed churches of the united lands of Cleve, Julich, Berg and Marck. Lipstadt, printed by Adolph Henry Meyer, privileged printer, 1738.)

As stated in the title, there are in this book 150 Psalms and 150 hymns, each accompanied by one-part

tunes. The third part contains a number of prose pieces, the Catechism, the Liturgy and prayers. The most interesting part of the book is the preface, written by the Rev. Abraham Kruimel, President of the General Synod, in which he gives a historical survey of German Reformed hymnals which has been used by us as a basis for our own sketch at the beginning of this chapter.

The second Reformed hymn book which influenced the hymn books in Pennsylvania was the Palatinate Hymn Book. The edition which is at our disposal is dated in the year 1761, although earlier editions are known to be in existence. Its elaborate title may be rendered as follows in English:

The General Reformed Hymn Book of the Electoral Palatinate, containing the Psalms of David, according to the rendering of Dr. Ambrosius Lobwasser, which has been corrected, here and there, and 700 selected hymns, which together with their contents and various melodies have been published with the approval of the Electoral Church Council, for the public use of churches and for special private devotions; provided with the necessary indexes and the Electoral Church Liturgy; printed with most gracious privileges by the Electoral authorities, in the printery of Knoch and Esslinger, 1761.

Collation: 150 Psalms, provided with one-part tunes, 304 pp. Indexes, 4 pp. Secondly, 700 selected spiritual hymns, of which about 100 are provided with one-part tunes, pp. 305-640; and an index, 8 pp. Thirdly, a prose part, containing the Heidelberg Catechism, pp. 1-27; ancient confessions of faith, pp. 28-29; the Palatinate Liturgy, pp. 29-49; and finally, morning and evening prayers, pp. 50-56.

Many such Palatinate hymn books, in many different editions, were brought to Pennsylvania. The people knew their contents well and prized them much. Those

which have survived are well thumb-marked. The number of spiritual hymns became the standard for other hymn books. This large number shows also the great popularity of hymns, as opposed to psalms.

The third Reformed hymn book, which was the immediate source of the first German Reformed hymn book printed in Pennsylvania, was the Marburg Reformed Hymn Book. Its title reads:

*Neu-vermehrte und vollständiges Gesang Buch, worinnen sowohl die Psalmen Davids, nach Dr. Ambrosii Lobwasser: Uebersetzung, nun hin und wieder verbessert, als auch 700. auserlesener alter und neuer Geistreichen Liedern begriffen sind, welche anjetzo sämtlich in denen Reformirten Kirchen der Hessisch-Hanauischen und vielen andern angränzenden Landen zu singen gebräuchlich, in nützliche Ordnung eingetheilt auch mit dem Heidelbergischen Catechismo und erbaulichen Gebätern versehen. Marburg. Zu finden bey Joh. Henrich Stocks, Fürstl. Hess. Cantzley Buchdr. nachgel. ältesten Tochter, Ebersbachischen Wittib, Im Jahr 1759.**

(Newly enlarged and complete Hymn Book, in which are contained the Psalms of David, according to the rendering of Dr. Ambrosius Lobwasser, now here and there corrected, as also 700 selected old and new spiritual hymns, which at present are customarily sung in the Reformed churches of Hesse-Hanau, and many other neighboring countries, arranged in useful order and also provided with the Heidelberg Catechism and edifying prayers. Marburg. To be found at John Henry Stock's, Printer of the Princely Hessian Chancery, eldest daughter's, Mr. Eberbach's widow's, 1759.)

Collation: 150 Psalms, 214 pp. Then, with separate title page, 700 spiritual hymns, 424 pp. Index of hymns, 6 pp. Then the prose appendix, with the Heidelberg Catechism, and with separate title, the Gospels and Epistles, the destruction of Jerusalem and finally prayers, 96 pp.

*This edition of 1759 is before the writer, but earlier editions are known. Prof. Joseph H. Dubbs had in his possession an edition of 1746.

This hymn book being issued in the County of Hesse-Hanau, it was natural to omit the Palatinate Liturgy, and, as it was a private venture, the Liturgy of Hesse-Hanau could not be substituted.

Now, although the Psalms and many of the hymns were accompanied by one-part music, a more complete book of melodies for the organist was obviously called for. Such a Chorale Book, printed at Frankfurt on the Main by John Daniel Mueller, was the following:

Vollständiges Hessen - Hanawisches CHORAL - BUCH, welches sowohl die Melodien der 150. Psalmen Davids, als anderer in beyden Evangelischen Kirchen unseres Deutschlands bisher eingeführten alten und neuen Lieder in sich fasset: Zum allgemeinen Nutzen für Kirchen und Schulen, auch Privat-Andachten auf eine gantz neue Art eingerichtet und mit einem dazu nöthigen Vorbericht herausgegeben, von Johann Daniel Müller. Franckfurt am Mayn, Bey Stock's Erben, Schilling und Weber, MDCCLIV.

(Complete Hesse-Hanau CHORALE BOOK, which contains not only the melodies to the 150 Psalms of David, but also those of the old and newly introduced hymns of both the Evangelical churches of our Germany. For the common use of churches and schools and also for private devotions; arranged by an entirely new method and edited with a necessary introduction by John Daniel Mueller. Frankfurt on the Main. [Published] by Stock's heirs, Schilling and Weber, 1754. Colophon: Frankfurt on the Main. Printed by John Bernard Eichenberg.)

The introduction states that the publishers intended at first merely to republish the old Chorale Book of the late author, John Michael Mueller, director of music and conductor at the Gymnasium (College) at Hanau. But, on account of the large number of hymns that had appeared, as well as other circumstances, they had concluded to make a new arrangement, without detracting from the well-earned merits of the former editor. The

new book contains not only the 300 tunes of the old book, but by adding new melodies their number has been increased to nearly 1000. Moreover, the melodies of those hymns which have the same metre are grouped under the same Latin numeral, so that it is possible to use either the usual tune sung to a hymn, or any of the others having the same Latin numeral. For example, under CXCVI thirty-six tunes are given which have the same metre and can be exchanged.

The 150 Psalms have 116 tunes, the 745 hymns have 375 tunes, while a table of tunes shows which are exchangeable. The tunes are for two voices: tenor and bass. Both among the hymns, as well as among the Psalms, are a goodly number that are still in use at the present time.

AMERICAN REFORMED HYMN BOOKS

The first hymn book used by the Reformed churches of Pennsylvania was a reprint of the Marburg Hymn Book by Christopher Saur, the well-known Dunker printer, in Pennsylvania in 1753. In accordance with its lengthy title, which, with the exception of a single word,* was identical with that of the Marburg hymn book, we find in it first of all the Psalms of David, according to the metrical version of Lobwasser.

The second part has a separate title page, which reads in part:

Kern alter und neuer, in 700 bestehender Geistreicher Lieder, . . . nebst Joachim Neandri Bundes-Liedern. . . . Nach dem neuesten Gesang-Buch, welches gedruckt in Marburg bey Johann Henrich Stock, nun zum ersten mahl gedruckt zu Germantown bey Christoph Saur, 1752.

* Saur added the word "Pfälzischen" after Hesse-Hanau.



TITLE PAGE OF SAUR'S FIRST REPRINT OF
 THE MARBURG REFORMED HYMN BOOK

(Nucleus of 700 old and new spiritual hymns together with the covenant hymns of Joachim Neander. After the latest hymn book, printed at Marburg, by John Henry Stock, now printed for the first time in Germantown by Christopher Saur, 1752.)

The second part contains 700 hymns on 562 pages and closes with an index of 10 pages. Judging by its date, 1752, we are compelled to conclude that it was printed first, before the first part appeared in 1753. It contains many of the well-known hymns. Ninety-six of them are found also in Dr. Schaff's standard hymn book of 1860. Its close connection with the Lutheran Marburg Hymn Book is revealed by the fact that 263 of its hymns are found also in the Lutheran Book. It was no doubt desirable in the many union churches of Pennsylvania to have such a book, because it enabled the people to use either book in the church services.

The third part has the same contents as its Marburg counterpart. The Heidelberg Catechism appears here for the first time in Pennsylvania. The close connection between the Reformed and Lutheran hymns is again in evidence. Except for the catechism and four prayers, which seem to be of Lutheran origin, there is complete agreement.

The Marburg Reformed Hymn Book reprinted by Saur seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity. It was again reprinted by him in 1763 and 1772. To the second and third editions an appendix of thirty hymns was added. The fourth edition was printed by Ernest Ludwig Baisch, Philadelphia. This edition is identical with the preceding except that it has 50 hymns in the appendix.

As the hymn books printed by Saur were private ventures, no reference to them appears in the official

Minutes of the Coetus of Pennsylvania. The Reformed ministers tolerated the activity of Saur, but "they took no pleasure in him."

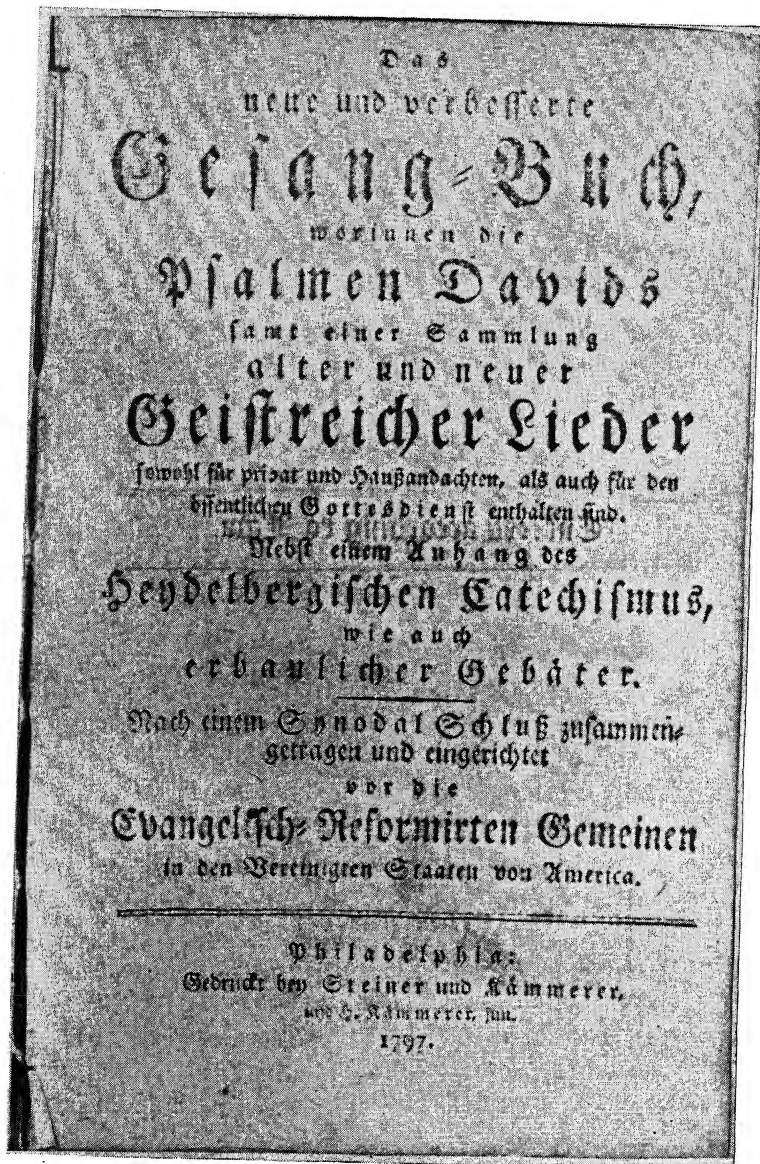
THE SYNODICAL HYMN BOOK OF 1797

When the Reformed Church of Pennsylvania declared itself independent of the Church of Holland, in 1793, the need for a new hymn book was felt immediately. Hence, in the Synod of 1793, a committee, consisting of Messrs. Hendel, Helffrich, Blumer, Wagner, Pauli and Mann, was appointed to supervise the publication.

In 1794 the Committee was instructed that "the Psalms be taken from Lobwasser's and Spreng's improved version and the Palatinate Hymn Book form the basis of the hymns, with this difference only, that some unintelligible hymns be exchanged for better ones." In 1796, the Synod conferred with Mr. Steiner, the printer, and he promised to print it "next fall." But as usual there were delays. On August 1, 1797, Mr. Hendel, the chairman of the committee, wrote to the Rev. John Wm. Weber: "The printing of our hymn book proceeds slower than I expected. The Psalms and 400 hymns are now done. As soon as it is ready I shall write you."

The hymn book appeared in the latter part of 1797, with the title reproduced on the opposite page, which may be translated as follows:

The new and improved hymn book, in which are contained the Psalms of David, together with a collection of old and new spiritual hymns, for private and family devotions, as well as for public worship. With an appendix consisting of the Heidelberg Catechism and prayers for edification. Collected according to a resolution of Synod and prepared for the Evangelical Reformed congregations in the United States of America. Philadelphia: printed by Steiner and Kämmerer and H. Kämmerer, Jun. 1797.



TITLE PAGE OF THE SYNODICAL HYMN BOOK OF 1797

The reasons that led to the book's publication are stated in its preface. First of all, the hymn books used up to that time had been superseded in Germany by better ones. Secondly, they had been printed on poor paper and with indistinct type. Thirdly, the congregations needed a hymn book suited to their special circumstances and conditions, so that there might be more uniformity in worship.

As to the contents of the book, we are told that the Psalms were taken from the versions of Lobwasser and Jacob Spreng and in part from the Herborn Hymn Book. Another improvement consisted in the selection of better tunes. The second part, containing 700 hymns, was "taken from the most edifying and well-known hymns of the Marburg and Palatinate Hymn Books, including hymns which had been composed by Joachim Neander, Friedrich Adolph Lampe, Caspar Zollikoffer and other devout Protestants."

The first edition of the Synodical Hymn Book contained about sixty melodies to the Psalms and some seventy for the 700 hymns. They were taken throughout from the Palatinate Hymn Book, with which it had 416 hymns in common.

The Synodical Hymn Book proved to be very popular. Beginning with the second edition, of 1799, the printing passed to Michael Billmeyer, a Germantown printer. The Minutes of Synod for the year 1799 give us interesting information about this transaction:

"Mr. Billmeyer asked for an advance towards prosecuting the printing of the new hymn book. It was resolved, that the assurance be given him, that the ministers will exert themselves to secure for him the desired advance, on condition, however, that he, when he has finished his edition of

the hymn book, will take over on his own account the balance of the hymn books of the first edition, that may yet remain in the hands of the heirs of Mr. Hendel, deceased."

This statement seems to imply that the Rev. William Hendel, Sr., who from 1794-1798 was pastor in Philadelphia, had published the 1797 edition as a private venture. Hence the book was known also as the "Hendel Hymn Book." The changes from the earlier hymn book of Saur are quite radical. Of its 700 hymns only 276 are found in the earlier book. Of the new hymns only 34 are included in the collection of Dr. Schaff. Thus, while it added some good new hymns, the majority did not materially improve the hymnological material used by the church.

Closely connected with the "Hendel Hymn Book" was the Liturgy printed by Billmeyer in 1798, entitled: *Kirchen-Formularien der Evangelisch-Reformirten Gemeinden*. It is a reprint of the Liturgy of the Lower Rhine, combining in its contents four forms from the Palatinate Liturgy and four from the Dutch Liturgy of the Synod of Dort.

As to the church music in the Reformed churches in this country, it should be said, in the first place, that they always cultivated congregational singing. During the first period, from 1725-1750, there were numerous obstacles that prevented good singing. The people had but few hymn books and there were no organs. The Rev. John Philip Boehm, the founder of numerous Reformed congregations, writes in January 1739: "Singing up to this time had to be conducted as best we could." *

* See *Life and Letters of the Rev. John Philip Boehm*, Philadelphia, 1914, p. 282.

The usual custom in vogue at that time was for the minister or the "foresinger" (or precentor) to line out the hymn, that is, each line was read by the leader and then sung by the people. When Mr. Muhlenberg introduced evening services, while he preached in New York, "candles were placed on the back of the pews, and, as there was only one copy of a hymn book, Muhlenberg read the words and conducted the singing." * Later, the congregations or organists imported tune books from Germany. A good instance of this occurred in Lancaster, Pa., where Casper Schaffner, Jr., (1767-1825) was organist from 1795 to 1799 and probably later. He had a copy of a chorale book printed at Frankfurt in 1754. He put his name and the date 1796 on the title page. As his grandfather, John Casper Schaffner, had come to Pennsylvania in 1733, the grandson must have imported this chorale book or bought it from an importer. That he was really the organist of the Lancaster Church appears clearly in the Minutes of the Consistory (Session) under date Jan. 13, 1799. There we read:

"It was unanimously resolved by the Consistory, in the name of the congregation, that Caster Schaffner, Jr. shall be notified of their gratitude for his great service to the church, in playing the organ for the last four years." †

Another method for supplying the needed tune book for the church services was for the organist to prepare by hand a MS. tune book. Such a MS. chorale book is before us, from the Library of the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church at Lancaster, Pa.

* See *Hallesche Nachrichten*, new ed., I, 627.

† See the excellent paper of Miss Elizabeth Kieffer, on the *Three Caspar Schaffners*, read before the Lancaster County Hist. Society, Vol. XLII, 1938, No. 7, pp. 181-200.

Festlich lachend am und froh, o du großer herrlicher
 Als nun reich, auf der Welt, Herr, wir die Himmel's güter
 Und die irdische Erde: Und vergiß nicht froh und dann, Was der
 Und die irdische Erde, Gotteskraft zum Himmel führt, Was der

A PAGE FROM THE LANCASTER MANUSCRIPT CHORALE BOOK

It is a small, weather-beaten book which shows hard usage, some 10 x 15½ cm. in size. It contains 57 yellow, ink-stained pages, with tunes for 54 hymns. Of these 38 are found in the Lutheran Saur Hymn Book, and 36 in the Reformed Hymn Book, printed by Saur, but 44 hymns and tunes are found in the Chorale Book printed at Frankfurt in 1754. We conclude, therefore, that it contains extracts from a larger Reformed chorale book, with ten hymns taken from other sources. Several of the last are funeral hymns.

WILLIAM J. HINKE



MUSIC OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



BISHOP JOHN CARROLL

First Catholic Bishop of the United States and Chief Approbator of
the Aitken Choir Book of 1787

MUSIC OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE first Catholic colony in Pennsylvania was known as the Conewago Settlement. It was situated in the territory now occupied by York and Adams Counties. John Digges, a Catholic gentleman of Cavalier stock, whose great-grandfather had been one of the early Governors of Maryland, obtained from the fourth Lord Baltimore a grant of land where the towns of Hanover and McSherrystown now stand. The deed, which was for ten thousand acres, was signed on January 14, 1726, twelve years before the temporary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland was run, and nine years before the heirs of William Penn had purchased from the Indians the rights of the land west of the Susquehanna River.

After John Digges's arrival on this unoccupied ground, it became known as Digges's Choice, and its first settlers were Catholics, descendants of the planters who had come to Maryland with Lord Baltimore in 1632. Later on, groups of Irish and German colonists, many of them Catholics, pushed west to the Susquehanna River. After the French Revolution, several French Catholic families established themselves at Oxford, about five miles away.

The Catholic church at Conewago thus became the mother church of the Catholics in Pennsylvania. It was also the oldest place of worship of any form of Christian faith west of the Susquehanna. It had been founded as early as 1721, and there the first Mass was celebrated by the Rev. Joseph Greaton, S.J., at the home of Colonel

Robert Owings. This old residence is still standing, about a quarter of a mile from the site of the present church.

This background of the beginnings of organized public worship by Catholics in Pennsylvania is outlined in a few strokes as a preliminary part of the meager picture of Catholic church music of the period. It is natural to suppose that in the log cabin at Conewago, built in 1740, there was scant opportunity for music in the divine services. Although no definite record has been found of any choir or church singing, it is also natural to suppose that, after the defeat of Germantown, when the British occupied Philadelphia and Congress was therefore obliged to flee first to Lancaster and later to York (1777-1778), Lafayette and the French Catholic gentry added more solemn ceremony to the services in the little Conewago chapel.

The next stage in the organization of the Catholic Church in this Commonwealth brings the historian to Lancaster, where Jesuit missionaries found a stopping-place in their journeys from Maryland to Philadelphia. They were accustomed to halt for a time at an Indian trading-post called "Conestogue," near the present Lancaster. There were French traders among the Indians in that day, and it is believed that these traders formed the nucleus of the first congregation. Historians agree that the first church structure was begun in 1742.

In the meantime, the pioneer Jesuits from Maryland had arrived in Philadelphia, where they organized the scattered Catholics and founded the parish of St. Joseph's. The chapel of that name was started in 1732, on the same site as the present St. Joseph's Church at Fourth Street and Willings' Alley. It was a small room, and was soon

found inadequate for the congregation. As a consequence, in 1763 the more commodious edifice of St. Mary's was erected, on South Fourth Street below Locust. This church, although remodelled, still serves as parish church of the district.

It was here, but not until toward the close of the eighteenth century, that there is authentic record of Catholic church music in Pennsylvania. On four occasions in those days St. Mary's, Philadelphia, was the scene of divine service in which the members of Congress, the military chiefs and other distinguished personages united. The first of these is mentioned in Report No. 102 from Ambassador Gerard to the French Minister, the Count de Vergennes. This report is dated at Philadelphia, July 6, 1779. Immediately following Gerard's arrival he made arrangements for a celebration of the Declaration of Independence, on July 4, at St. Mary's Church. The invitation was thus worded: "You are requested, on behalf of the Minister Plenipotentiary of France, to assist at the *Te Deum*, which will be sung on Sunday, 4th of this month at noon, in the new Catholic chapel, to commemorate the anniversary of the Independence of the United States of America.—Philadelphia, 2 July, 1779." From the report made in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of July 10, 1779, it is apparent that the celebration was a success: "At noon the President and members of Congress, with the President and chief magistrates of this State, and a number of other gentlemen and their ladies, went, by invitation from the honorable the Minister of France, to the Catholic Chapel, where the great event was celebrated by a well-adapted discourse, pronounced by the Minister's chaplain, and a *Te Deum* solemnly sung by a number of very good voices, accom-

panied by the organ and other kinds of music." The address, delivered by the Abbé Seraphin Bandol, chaplain to the French Minister, was printed in full by *The United States Magazine*. In his account to his government, Gerard noted that the ceremony was the first of its kind in the thirteen States.

Primarily concerned in the musical progress of Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century rather than in the notable powers of eloquence of a distinguished visiting stranger, the fairly long Address of the Chaplain will appeal less to the gentle reader than the plauditory remark of the *Pennsylvania Packet* concerning the musical feature of the great occasion, namely, the "*Te Deum* solemnly sung by a number of very good voices, accompanied by the organ and other kinds of music."

Many interesting details of the care taken by the Board of Managers of St. Mary's Church in respect, not alone of its religious interests, but as well of its attempts at musical progress, are to be found in the "Minute Book of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, Pa., 1782-1811," which was carefully edited by Lawrence F. Flick, M.D. (a longtime resident of that parish until his comparatively recent death) and published in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* (Volume IV, 1893).

Dr. Flick wrote (*inter alia*): "Whatever the arrangements for looking after the temporal affairs of the church [viz. St. Joseph's Chapel] may have been prior to the founding of St. Mary's, it is almost certain that from that time a Board of Managers, consisting of clergy and laymen, had charge of them. The minutes of this Board of Managers or Trustees, as they were called after 1788, give an interesting glimpse at the early history of

the Catholic Church in Philadelphia. In the archives of St. Mary's Church, there is among other things of rare historic value a book which contains the minutes of the Board of Trustees from the date of incorporation, 1788, to 1811, the minutes of two meetings of the Board of Managers, 1783 and 1788, and quite a number of other records. From some of the contents of the book it is evident that there was at least one older minute book and possibly two. The whereabouts of this, or these, is unfortunately not known."

Perhaps this "older minute book," whose location was unknown to Dr. Flick, had something to report concerning a Philadelphia Choir Book of 1787 intended for use in Catholic churches. Howbeit, it is permitted to quote largely here from a paper * in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*:

The library of the American Catholic Historical Society is the fortunate possessor of four old-time choir-books, three of which were published in Philadelphia, and the fourth in Baltimore. A study of the four volumes would throw much light on the musical apparatus then thought sufficient, it would seem, for the needs of the few thousand Catholics in what was at that time the territory of the United States of America. The study of these four books is both interesting and informing; and the information given by them is at times pathetic, at times not without a humorous feature.

The earliest of the four is: A | Compilation of the | Litanies and | Vesper Hymns | And Anthems | as They are Sung in the | Catholic Church | Adapted to the Voice or Organ | By John Aitken | Philadelphia, 1787.

The volume is a small quarto of 136 pages of engraved music. The title-page is handsomely engraved. Altogether, the volume presents a sumptuous appearance beyond that of

* By the author; see the Bibliography, p. 547.

Computation of the
Epistles and
Vespers Hymns
AND ANTHEMS
as They are Sung in the
CATHOLIC CHURCH
Adapted to the Voice or Organ
BY JOHN AITKEN
PHILADELPHIA. 1787

TITLE PAGE

present-day choir-books; and it is surprising to reflect that this elegantly finished volume dates back to the year 1787, only four years after the Treaty of Peace (1783) following the War of the Revolution.

In that year of 1787 the Constitution was ratified by Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey. Eight other States ratified it in the following year; two States deferred ratification until 1789 and 1790 respectively. Catholics were then

WHEREAS John Aitken, of the City of Philadelphia, hath humbly requested our Approbation of a Work he is now preparing to publish at his own Expence, entitled "A Compilation of the Litanies, Vespers Hymns and Anthems as they are sung in the Catholic Church, adapted to the Voice or Organ:" We desiring to encourage an Undertaking so conducive to the Decency and Solemnity of religious Worship, do hereto set our Names in Testimony of our Approbation.

Revd. JOHN CARROLL,

Revd. ROBERT MOLYNEUX,

Revd. FRANCIS BRESTON,

Revd. LAWRENCE GRAESSL.

Philadelphia, Nov. 28, 1787.

Nachdem John Aitken, aus der Stadt Philadelphia, uns unterthänig um unsere Genehmigung eines Werks ersucht hat, welches er auf seine eigene Kosten heraus zu geben willens ist, unter dem Titel; "Eine Sammlung von Litaneyen, Vesper-Liedern und Chörgesängen, wie solche in der Catholischen Kirche gesungen worden, zur Stimme und Orgel eingerichtet," so haben wir, um ein Unternehmen zu unterstützen welches den Anstand und die Feierlichkeit des öffentlichen Gottesdienstes so sehr befördert, zum Zeichen unserer Genehmigung unsere Namen hiezu gesetzt.

Chrw. John Carroll,

Chrw. Robert Molyneux,

Chrw. Francis Breston,

Chrw. Laurenz Gräfl.

Philadelphia, Nov. 28, 1787.

IMPRIMATUR

The reproductions on pages 308-310 are from the copy belonging to The American Catholic Historical Society.

I JAMES BIDDLE, Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia County, do certify, That JOHN ATKIN hath entered in my Office, according to act of Assembly, a certain book published by him, entitled, "A Compilation of the Litanies and Vespers, Hymns and Anthems, as they are sung in the Catholic Church, adapted to the "Voice or Organ," containing one hundred and thirty six pages in quarto. Witness my hand, this 8th April, 1788.

JAMES BIDDLE, PROT.

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only about 25,000 in number, and their constitutional rights were nowhere guaranteed; for the ratification of the Constitution began only in the last month of 1787, the first State to do so being Delaware, Dec. 7, 1787.

The Choir-Book of 1787 thus illustrates the enterprise of our Catholic forbears and their idea of the proper expense they should bear for the minor things of religious worship.

The volume is interesting also from the standpoint of the bibliographer. Finotti makes no mention of it in his *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*, a work which he spent years of careful study in compiling and which he was able to bring down, in his published volume, to the year 1820.

The 1787 Choir Book bears the name of the Philadelphia publisher, John Aitken, to whom no reference is made in Scharf & Westcott's *History*, or in Young's *Memorial History* (1895-1898). Finotti mentions (page 67) a booklet of 40 pages, 8vo, published in Philadelphia by a Robert Aitken in 1784, but makes no mention of John Aitken, who nevertheless was known as a publisher, some years before 1800, at No. 3 or 5 South Third Street.

It is, indeed, a curious volume, without orderly arrangement of its contents; with apparently haphazard inclusions of stanzas from the *Tantum Ergo*, the psalm *Confitebor*, and the texts of the Mass; and with a superabundance of "anthems" apparently from Anglican sources. And we are surprised not to find any mention of the "O Salutaris Hostia" or of the "Adeste Fideles."

Looking at the contents more closely, we notice that the volume comprises some "Hymns," many "Anthems," a makeshift "Mass," a Mass for the Dead (not liturgically complete), a "Vespers" for Sunday, the four anthems of the Blessed Virgin, an "Ave Maria," and a few other things. These inclusions are placed in the volume almost without any thought of an orderly arrangement . . . The "Holy Mass of the Blessed Trinity" has a most defective text for the *Gloria* and the *Credo*, the references to the Third Person of the Holy

Trinity being (amongst other portions of the text) omitted. This is curious, as the Mass is styled " of the Blessed Trinity." The copy of the volume owned by the American Catholic Historical Society records, in writing, that it belonged to the choir of the Church of the Holy Trinity! The Mass for the Dead is also liturgically defective in text.

We find five settings of the Litany of Loreto; some Versicles and Responses; eight tunes (without words) for German hymns; the *Ave Maria* in Latin, set to a modern melody; and a " Litany uebe (*sic*) die Geheimnissen " without words.

It is a strange mixture, suggesting the thought that John Aitken was a publisher who naturally tried to include in his volume for Catholic use a large portion of other non-Catholic music carried by him in stock. For the volume smacks throughout of non-Catholic editorship, both by the inclusion of so many " Anthems " . . . and by the scrappy editing of the distinctively Catholic requirements of Mass, Vespers, Benediction.

Or the pathetic conclusion may be drawn that Catholic repertoires at that day were very restricted, perhaps because of a slight intercourse in business matters with the Mother Country from which the United States had so recently and so successfully seceded. It is true that, if the very slight limits of the little volume put forth by Coghlan in London in 1782, and reissued by him in 1799 (priced at three shillings!) are considered, Catholics really knew little that they could sing appropriately in church.

The bibliographical details quoted above are not without interest, in view of the re-issue of the volume, very much changed in fact, although not so in general appearance, four years later. As the two editions agree in the main in respect of their inclusions, but very much in respect of the order and general arrangement of the inclusions, it will be of some convenience to place numerals before the 1787 inclusions for the purpose of easy comparison.

THE 1787 EDITION

1 (page 16): There is, first of all, "The Christmas Hymn":

"Whilst Angels to the world proclaim
The birth of Christ our King,
To magnify his sacred name,
We'll joyful anthems sing.
The watchful shepherds, seized with fear,
At radiant light divine,
When they the happy tidings hear,
Their allelujahs join."

In this quotation and in all others (except where a different notation is made), the spelling and capitalization are here modernized, as is also the punctuation (whose carelessness is, in engraved music, quite a feature, even at the present day, of some hymnals).

The harmonization of this hymn, as indeed of all the inclusions in general of the volume, is in two parts (air and bass).

2 (page 17): "The Litany of Loretto in Latin" [two settings].

2 (page 18): The same, in three settings.

3 (pp. 19, 20): Various versicles and responses.

4 (pp. 21-23): Vespers for Sundays.

5 (p. 24): "*Lucis Creator*" (only one stanza, and in English verse):

"O Great Creator of the Light,
Who from the darksome womb of night
Brought forth new light at nature's birth
To shine upon the face of earth."

It would be interesting to discover the translator of the Latin hymn (*Lucis Creator optime*) attributed to St. Gregory the Great. Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* (Revised Edition with Supplement, 1907), mentions only

one translator (whose rendition opens with the line "O great Creator of the Light"), namely J. Wallace, 1874. Whose translation was used in the 1787 hymnal?

6 (p. 25):

"Sing ye praises to the Lord, allelujah,
Bless his name with one accord, allelujah:
For it's owing to his care, allelujah,
What we have and what we are, allelujah."

The first line of this hymn is nowhere noted in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*.

7 (p. 24): "*Psalmus L*" [only the first verse of the *Miserere*, in English].

8 (p. 26): "*Salve Regina*":

"Hail to the Queen who reigns above,
Mother of clemency and love,
Hail thou, our hope, life, sweetness, we
Eve's banished children cry to thee . . ."

There are two more stanzas. Julian refers the translation to the *Primer* of 1685.

9 (p. 27): "*Psalm CIV*":

"My soul, thy great Creator praise
When clothed in his celestial rays
He in full majesty appears
And like a robe his glory wears.

(*Chorus*):

Great is the Lord: what tongue can frame
An equal honor to his name?"

Julian attributes this version of the Psalm to Sir J. Denham and Isaac Watts, and notes that it was first published in Watts's *Psalms of David*, &c., 1719. That this non-Catholic rendering into verse of a Psalm would not be considered amiss was, no doubt, reasonably assumed by John Aitken.

10 (p. 28): "The Hymn at Benediction" [the two stanzas of the *Tantum ergo*].

11 (p. 29): "The Easter Hymn" [a translation of "O Filii et Filiae"]. In his *Dictionary of Hymnology*, Julian notes that Neale, in his *Mediaeval Hymns, &c.*, assigns this, and other Latin hymns, to the 13th century, but Julian dissents, and, attributing it to a French origin, deems it not earlier than the 17th century. The translation, beginning as above, belongs to no earlier century than the 17th. The first of the twelve stanzas given in Aitken's volume may be appropriately quoted here:

"Young men and maids, your praises join;
The glorious king, your king divine,
This day triumphant left his shrine.
Allelujah."

Aitken's volume nowhere informs the reader that the splendid hymn is a translation of the French-Latin hymn, "*O Filii et Filiae*" (called sometimes merely the "Alleluia," as it is introduced by a triple utterance of the word "Alleluia" (or "Allelujah," as it appears in Aitken's volume).

12 (p. 30) contains only the first stanza, in Latin, of the *Veni Creator* and of the *Tantum Ergo*. That only one stanza of the *Veni Creator* should be given in this hymnal is quite intelligible, as the verse still is commonly sung before the Sermon at Mass (or Vespers, in some churches). But that only one stanza of the *Tantum Ergo* should have been given is rather puzzling.

13 (pp. 31-34): The music, without any words, is given for the following eight hymns: "Last, (*sic*) uns erfreuen," "Die ganze Welt Heir (*sic*) Jesu Christ." "Maria sei gegruesset," "O Christ hier merk," "Nun lobet Gott im Hohen" (*sic*), "Freu dich der Himmels

Koenigin," "Komm reiner Geist," "Maria Jung Frau-
rin" (*sic*).

14 (p. 35): "Litaney uebe (*sic*) die geheimnissen."

15 (pp. 36-38):

"The wonders which God's laws contain
No words can represent;
Therefore to learn and practice them
Our zealous hearts are bent"—etc.

Julian nowhere notes this hymn.

16 (p. 39): "*Jesu dulcis memoria*" (one 8-lined stanza, in English, is given of this wonderfully exquisite hymn composed by St. Bernard).

17 (pp. 40-56): The Anthems of the Blessed Virgin (*Alma Redemptoris Mater*, *Regina Coeli*, *Salve Regina*, and *Ave Regina*, in the order named).

18 (pp. 56-58): "Psalm CX" [*Confitebor tibi, Domine*], only the first two verses, in Latin. A curious selection, set to a modern anthem-tune.

19 (pp. 59, 60): "*O anima beata quae suspirat ad te, O care sponse!..Da mihi cor fidele quod possit te amare.*" The present commentator is inclined to deem this text an original one composed for adaptation to a comparatively modern anthem-musical-setting, or perhaps a selection from an oratorio in English. There are many repetitions of this text covering two pages, followed by "Da Capo"!

20 (pp. 61-65): "Anthem": "This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it. For unto us is born a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord," etc. The "which" (instead of "who") would suggest an Anglican, rather than a Catholic, source, when reference is made to Our Lord.

21 (pp. 65-67); "Anthem": "Sing to the Lord a new song, let his praise be in the Church of the Saints"—apparently a Protestant translation of Psalm 149: "Sing ye to the Lord a new canticle, let his praise be in the Church of the Saints." Perhaps it is adapted to a Church of England anthem, perhaps to an oratorio selection.

22 (p. 67): *Stabat Mater* (only one Latin stanza), sung to the melody now generally used in Catholic churches.

23 (pp. 68-70): "Lift Up Your Gates": "Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be lifted up, O ye eternal doors, and the King of Glory shall enter in. Who is the king of glory? It is the Lord strong and mighty ever and Lord of hosts," etc. (Psalm 23).^{*} Apparently an adaptation to a previous anthem or oratorio selection.

24 (p. 70):

"How various, Lord, thy works are found,
For which thy wisdom we adore;
The earth is with thy treasure crowned
Till nature's hand can grasp no more."

Julian makes no reference to it in his huge *Dictionary of Hymnology*.

25 (pp. 71-74): "King of kings, Lord of lords, whom heaven and earth cannot contain, how great is thy goodness thus to become our Sacrifice and our Food," etc. Apparently an adaptation.

26 (pp. 74-76): "O praise ye the Lord, sing His praise in the congregation of the saints," etc. The same comment as that on No. 23.

27 (pp. 76-77):

"Let all who would God's goodness prove
Still in his truth confide,

^{*} Psalm 24 of the King James Version. (Ed.)

Whose mercy ne'er forsook the man
That on his truth relied," etc.

Julian nowhere records this hymn.

28 (p. 78): "O Praise Ye the Lord"—a prose anthem.

29 (pp. 78-81): "O Be Joyful"; "O be joyful in the Lord; all ye lands serve the Lord with gladness," etc.

30 (pp. 82-83): "Make a joyful noise unto God, all ye lands," etc.

31 (p. 84): "Anthem at the Elevation": "We adore and worship Thee, O Christ, with all praise and benediction," etc. Apparently an adaptation.

32 (p. 85): "A Hymn":

"Through all the changing scenes of life,
In trouble and in joy,
The praises of my God shall still
My heart and tongue employ" (etc.)

The nearest approach to the wording of the first line is: "Through all the various shifting scenes" (cf. Julian, p. 1593, col. 1: "This hymn appeared anonymously in (Unitarian) Liverpool *Coll.*, 1763. . . . It was repeated in later collections. . . .")

33 (p. 86): "Anthem": "Sing unto God, ye kingdoms of the earth," etc. Not mentioned by Julian.

34 (pp. 89-92): "Anthem": "Let us magnify Thee, O great God," etc.

35 (pp. 93-97): "Let the Bright Seraphims":

"Let the bright seraphims in burning row
Their loud uplifted awful trumpets blow;..
Let the cherubic hosts in tuneful choirs
Touch their immortal harps with golden wires."

Julian does not mention the hymn.

36 (p. 97): One stanza of an English version of the *Dies Irae*.

37 (pp. 98-100):

Grateful notes and numbers bring
While the name of God we sing;
Holy, holy, holy Lord,
Be thy glorious name adored, etc.

Julian notes (p. 450, col. 1): "[*Thanksgiving.*] The hymn appeared in the *Christians Magazine*, Feb., 1766, as 'A New Ode as sung by the Women at the Magdalen Chapel,' in 7 st. of 4 l., without signature, and with many repetitions and choruses as the parts were divided between the 'First and Second Galleries'." The following, omitting repetitions, is the text:

"Grateful notes and numbers bring
While Jehovah's praise we sing:
Holy, holy, holy Lord!
Be Thy glorious name adored."

Julian hereupon prints 7 stanzas, and continues: "There is no signature to the hymn. . . ." He gives the opening stanza of four other varieties in the wording of the hymn, together with not a little historical and other comment.

38 (pp. 101-109): "The Holy Mass of the Blessed Trinity." It is in harmonized plainsong with instrumental interludes ("symphonies") in the eighteenth century operatic style. The effect is most curious—nay, one might be tempted to say, "amusing." The text is badly deficient. Thus, for the *Kyrie Eleison* we have: "*Kyrie eleison*"—then a symphony; "*Christe eleison*"—a symphony follows; "*Christe eleison*" (again), then another symphony; and, finally, another "*Kyrie eleison.*" These are the only portions of the triple *Kyrie*, triple *Christe*, and triple *Kyrie* given in the musical score. The *Gloria* is still more defective. There is no *Et in terra pax hominibus, bonae voluntatis*, but instead the choir begins with the words "*Laudamus te.*" Instead of the next sentence (*Benedicimus te*), we have a symphony. Then

follows the sentence, *Adoramus te*—but the *Glorificamus te* is omitted, or rather is replaced by a symphony. Next we have *Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam* (then a symphony). The next sentence (*Domine Deus, Rex caelestis, Deus Pater omnipotens*) is omitted. Next we have: *Dorine Fili unigenite Jesu Christe* (followed by a symphony). The sentence *Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris, Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis* is omitted, or perhaps one might say that it is replaced by a symphony, for next we have: “*Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram,*” after which we have a symphony (perhaps intended to replace the words: “*Qui sedes at dexteram Patris, miserere nobis,*” which accordingly are omitted), and then: “*Quoniam tu solus sanctus*” (with a symphony to take the place of the following words: “*Tu solus Dominus*”); and finally we have: “*Tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe. Amen*”! The *Gloria* thus comes to an abrupt termination, leaving out all mention of the Holy Ghost: “*Cum Sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris.*” The omitted words may have been “recited,” let us hope, during the symphonies, in an easily audible tone, whether in the plain-song of the *Gloria in excelsis* or in a clear monotone.

Coming next to a consideration of the *Credo* in this curiously constructed “Mass,” we find a continuous text down to the words: “*non erit finis,*” after which the music incontinently places “Amen,” and thus once more omits (as the *Gloria in excelsis* had previously omitted) all reference to the Holy Ghost: “*Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum, et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit. Qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur; qui locutus est per Prophetas.*” And the remainder of the *Credo* is also, of course, similarly omitted:

101 THE HOLY MASS of the Blessed Trinity.

The musical score is written for a piano and voice. It consists of six systems of music. The first system shows the vocal line with the lyrics 'Kyrie' and 'Ie Iou'. The second system shows the piano accompaniment with a 'sy.' (sustained) marking. The third system continues the piano accompaniment. The fourth system shows the vocal line with the lyrics 'Chri ste' and 'Ie Iou', with a 'sy.' marking above the staff. The fifth and sixth systems show the piano accompaniment.

Kyrie Ie Iou

sy.

Chri ste Ie Iou

sy.

Kyrie OF THE MASS IN THE
From a copy in

Handwritten musical score for a choir, featuring two systems of music. The first system includes a vocal line and a keyboard accompaniment. The vocal line begins with the lyrics "Chri fte" and "lei fon". The keyboard accompaniment features a complex, rhythmic pattern. The second system includes a vocal line and a keyboard accompaniment. The vocal line begins with the lyrics "Kyrle" and "lei fon". The keyboard accompaniment features a complex, rhythmic pattern. The score is written in a style characteristic of the 18th century, with a focus on melody and harmony.

AITKEN CHOIR BOOK OF 1787
the Library of Congress.

"*Et unam sanctam Catholicam et Apostolicam Ecclesiam. Confiteor unam baptismam in remissionem peccatorum. Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum. Et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.*"

39 (pp. 110-114):

"Praise the Lord with cheerful noise,
To his glory sound, my lyre,
Praise the Lord each mortal voice,
Praise the Lord ye heavenly choir", etc.

Julian makes no reference to the hymn.

40 (p. 114): The versicles and responses before the Preface of the Mass.

41 (p. 115): The *Sanctus*, plainsong, with complete text.

42 (p. 117): The *Agnus Dei*, plainsong, with complete text.

43 (p. 118): The *Ite Missa Est*.

44 (pp. 119-121): The Mass for the Dead, in plainsong. Only two stanzas of the *Dies Irae* are given.

45 (p. 122): The *Ave Maria*, in modern setting.

46 (pp. 123-125): "Anthem": "*Benedicamus Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum.*"

47 (p. 125): "Praise the Lord, Jerusalem," a prose anthem.

48 (p. 126):

"This solemn feast our joyful songs inspire
And urge the praises of our tuneful lyre.
May age to age forever sing
The Virgin's Son and angels' King,
And praise, with the celestial host,
The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

The first two lines are repeated, and the twice-sung lines are followed by "Da Capo"!

49 (pp. 130, 131): "Praise the Lord," etc.—a prose anthem.

50 (pp. 132-133): "I will glorify Thee," etc.—a prose anthem.

51 (pp. 134-136):

"O Deus ego amo te,
Nec amo te ut salves me," etc.

Julian assigns much space to this exquisitely lovely hymn (*cf.* pages 826-827).

And so we are brought to the end of this curious choir-book. It is, indeed, a curious kind of choir-book, without orderly arrangement of its contents; with apparently haphazard inclusions of stanzas from the *Tantum Ergo*, the Psalm *Confitebor*, and the texts of the Mass; and with a superabundance of "anthems," perhaps derived from Anglican sources. And we are surprised at not finding any mention of the *O Salutaris Hostia* or of the *Adeste Fideles*.

It has been noted above that Aitken's volume of 1787 contained the "Holy Mass of the Blessed Trinity"—a musical work having a most defective text for the *Gloria* and the *Credo*, the references to the Third Person of the Most Blessed Trinity being omitted; and that the library of The American Catholic Historical Society has a copy of that "Mass" which had belonged to the Church of the Holy Trinity in Philadelphia.

A slight historical sketch of that newer church in Philadelphia seems now appropriate. The Catholic Germans had worshipped at St. Mary's Church until, the parish of St. Mary's having become self-supporting, the Germans set about having a church of their own, "where the language and customs of the Fatherland would obtain, and their children be instructed in the tongue of

their people" (*Catholicity in Philadelphia*, page 123). The building, at Sixth and Spruce Streets, was formally dedicated November 22, 1789. It is interesting to recall that the copy of Aitken's volume containing the merely "sketchy" Mass of the Holy Trinity should be now in the collection of books of the American Catholic Historical Library and should have in it the declaration that it belonged once to the Church of the Holy Trinity. That German church had, quite obviously, a comparatively high standing for its Church music.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, a movement was made towards the erection of still another church in Philadelphia, and St. Augustine's was dedicated on June 7, 1801. In 1796 an appeal had been made to the public for contributions to this project, and the amount received was \$8679.02. Among the two hundred and forty-four contributors were the following: President Washington, \$50.; Thomas FitzSimons, \$500.; Patrick Madden, \$500.; Commodore John Barry, \$150.; Joseph Viar, Spanish Consul, \$100.; Matthew Carey, \$50.; George Meade, grandfather of General George Gordon Meade, \$50.; Stephen Girard, \$40.; Jared Ingersoll, Attorney General of Pennsylvania, \$30.; Col. Francis Johnston, of the Revolution, \$30.; the Count de Noailles, brother-in-law of Lafayette, \$20.; Captain John Barry, \$20.; Captain Faulkner, \$10.; Captain Hoare, \$10.; Captain O'Connor, \$10.

Returning now to the eighteenth century, and in particular to St. Mary's Church and its musical activities, we re-open the *Minute Book of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, Pa.—1782-1811*. We come upon the first "musical note" (as it were) "at a meeting of the Members of St. Mary's Church held at the School House—

May 29, 1789": "The Trustees shall pay the Organist"—a kindly thought, especially in view of what was said a moment later: "And as the revenues of the Church are insufficient to answer the different demands, it is recommended to the Trustees to endeavour to raise the Sum of Fifty pounds, in addition thereto, by a voluntary Subscription." So much for the organist.

Next, what about the organ blower? At a meeting of the Trustees held December, 1790, it was ordered that attention should be paid to the wages of the "Bellow's Blower"; and a "Note" was recorded that "the organist has not demanded wages for some time, therefore it was supposed that shou'd he in future demand it, that the Clergy shou'd pay him."

At somewhat long length, we come (16th April, 1792) to the interests of the Choir (but particularly to the interests of the "Principal Singer"): "Also agreed that the Charges of the Choir in future shall be as follows—"For singing High Mass at a Funeral Four Dollars and otherwise singing at a Funeral, Two Dollars which sum shall be equally divided between the Organist and Principal Singer of the Choir. . . ." On May 21st, 1804, it was "Resolved and unanimously agreed to, That in future the Person who shall be the first Singer or leader in the Choir, shall have the preference of Singing at funerals." We may be pleasantly smiling (but assuredly not grinning) as we glance at some of these "short and simple annals of the poor." The musical progress may seem to have been slow, but it assuredly was "progress," in the real meaning of the word, because the various steps taken were obviously forward-looking steps—a fact which is delightfully illustrated by a meeting of the Trustees on "Monday 5th November 1804—6 oClock in the Evening," as reported in the *Minute Book*:

THE REV'D CLERGY'S HOUSE

MONDAY 5TH NOVEMBER 1804—6 O'CLOCK IN THE EVENING

At a Special meeting of the Trustees of "The Roman Catholic Society Worshipping at the Church of St. Mary in the city of Philadelphia";

The Rev'd Mr. Rossiter in the Chair

Present The Rev'd Mr. Eagan

John Carrell

John Rudolph

Joseph Snyder

Patrick Linehan

Philip Smith

Joseph Crap

&

John Denniston

The meeting having been Convened to take into Consideration the propriety of Employing a Capable person to teach Sacred Music, and to open a Singing School for the Congregation, which upon deliberation was unanimously allowed to be essentially necessary; particularly as it relates to Qualify Singers for The Choir

It was moved by Mr Carrell and Seconded by Mr Crap and unanimously agreed to; That a Committee be appointed to employ a Capable person to teach Sacred Music and Conduct a Singing School; The Rev'd Mr. Eagan, Messrs Carrell, Rudolph & Denniston were appointed a Committee for that purpose:

Resolved and agreed to That the Trustees do Class themselves, and in rotation shall Solicit Subscriptions and Donations for the Support of the Singing School now Contemplated; and that the terms Shall be five Dollars each Scholar for the Season; and also that any person Subscribing five Dollars Shall be entitled to Send one Scholar; They accordingly Classed themselves as follows, Viz

Messrs. Carrell & Denniston
" Rudolph & Scravendyke
" Linehan & Snyder
" Crap & Smith

A Letter bearing date this day was rec'd from Joseph Azan, who for a number of years past has acted as leader of the Choir; and who for reasons by him mentioned wishes Some Compensation for his Services; the same being under consideration it was agreed that to grant any Sum under the name of Salary would be establishing a precedent not heretofore known in the Church; and that if the Contemplated plan of Singing School should Succeed, the necessity of depending on an Individual would be obviated, but that in Justice in the present Case some acknowledgment ought to be made, Therefore Resolved, That the Treasurer be and he is hereby directed to pay Joseph Azan the Sum of fifty Dollars;

Mr Rudolph having represented the frequent inconveniences that occur, in not having a regular to blow the Bellows for the Organ, Messrs Rudolph & Crap, were appointed a Committee for to employ a suitable person for that purpose

The present paper has gone slightly beyond the strict limits of the "eighteenth century," but it will now go back to review very briefly the 1791 edition of Aitken's Choir Book, which bore a new title:

A | Compilation of the | Litanies | Vespers Hymns and
Anthems | As They Are Sung in the | Catholic Church. | Phil-
adelphia | Printed and Sold by | John Aitken 1791.

The title-page is an entirely new engraving and presents an equally attractive appearance with that of the 1787 volume. A reader of the newer book will at once note that the harmonization adds a third voice to the two parts (air and bass) given in the edition of 1787.

The contents are arranged differently in the new edition and, in some places, differ largely in detail. They now have a fairly logical connection.

The following items may be briefly noted: (1) The *Veni Creator* is in both Latin and English. (2) The *Pange Lingua* is given *completely* both in Latin and in English. (3) "The Holy Mass of the Blessed Trinity" has, on the other hand, the same omissions as the edition of 1787. (4) The Vespers for Sundays are now in Latin and in English. (5) The *Missa pro Defunctis* (with the *Dies Irae*) is in full Latin text. (6) The *De Profundis* is in both Latin and English.

In many respects, the two editions fairly agree in the order of inclusions. The engraving is entirely new, however; and the word "Seraphims" of the 1787 edition is now "Seraphim." There are also some additions to the entries of the 1787 volume. Altogether, it seems clear that John Aitken went to considerable expense to make his attractively engraved volume more acceptable to Catholics.

HUGH T. HENRY

JEWISH MUSIC IN PENNSYLVANIA IN
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



SOUNDING THE SHOFAR
From Stainer's *Music of the Bible*.

JEWISH MUSIC IN PENNSYLVANIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The number of Jews in eighteenth century Pennsylvania, and for that matter in the whole of North America, was very small. At the beginning of the century, for which accurate statistics are lacking, it might have been no more than one thousand; but after the close of the Revolution, when the first census was taken in 1790 and the total population of the country was figured at almost four million, the number of Jewish inhabitants was estimated at about three thousand.* These Jews were predominately Sefardim,† i.e. of Spanish-Portuguese stock, who, forced to emigrate from their homes by the Spanish Inquisition, came here by way of South and Central America, specifically Brazil and the West Indies, and also by way of Holland and England; yet Ashkenazim † or German and Polish Jews, as well, spurred on by religious and political persecutions in Europe, began to trickle in at a quite early date and to settle along the central towns and hamlets of the eastern littoral. Jews of the latter type, however, were not significant in those early days;

* Simon Wolf, *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, Philadelphia, 1895, p. 12.

† The term *Sefarad*, occurring in the Book of Obadiah, Verse 20, was oddly applied to Spain in post-biblical times, while the term *Ashkenaz*, found in the Book of Genesis, 10, 3, was applied to Germany. The Sefardim or Spanish Jews and the Ashkenazim or German Jews developed along different lines after the Dispersion and had distinct customs and mores in their religious life: they differed in their pronunciation of Hebrew, in the arrangement of the synagogue ritual, and in the manner of chanting the synagogue service. See A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Liturgy and its Development*, New York, 1932, p. 59 ff.

being few in number they invariably joined the organized Spanish-Portuguese communities or congregations and ultimately became absorbed in them as integral parts. Although in the course of time they sometimes reached a majority in the Sefardic congregations, yet they clung to the Sefardic ritual and liturgy and only very rarely reverted to the Ashkenazic ritual and liturgy.

With regard to Pennsylvania, while individual Jews are said to have penetrated to its confines even before the landing of William Penn, Jewish settlements worthy of the name did not crop up here before the beginning of the eighteenth century. Such settlements appeared first about the sites of Schaefersville (later Schaeferstown) and Lancaster, where immigrant Jews traded with the Indians.* In Schaefersville a number of Germans even became proselytes to Judaism, and there was a log house used as a synagogue on the trail from the Conestoga to the Swatara. It is said that conviction of the lasting authority of Mosaic law had induced various Christians of the frontiers to practice circumcision and to forbear eating pork, and to stretch the prohibition against the swan an an article of food so far as to include also the goose.† In Lancaster Joseph Simon is said to have been a pioneer settler, and in Easton Myer Hart. Another prominent figure was Aaron Levy, who is said to have settled in Northumberland county about 1760 and to have built in 1786 the town of Aaronsburg in Centre

* See Henry Necarsulmer, "The Early Jewish Settlement at Lancaster, Pa.," in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 9 (1901), pp. 29-44; also Ellis and Evans, *History of Lancaster County*, pp. 18, 47, 250, 369 f., 471.

† Charles P. Keith, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1917, Vol. II, p. 549.

County.* At Philadelphia the first Jewish settler was Jonas Aaron (1703); the second was Arnold Bamberger (1726).†

As the number of Jews grew to appreciable proportions they joined together, about 1747, into a community named *Mikveh Israel* (Hope of Israel) for the purpose of worship and communion with God. For liturgical services the community met in a small house in Sterling alley—afterward called Cherry Alley—between Third and Fourth Streets.‡ From a letter written by Jacob Henry of New York to Barnard Gratz of Philadelphia, dated January 6, 1761, we learn that an attempt was made in 1761 to build a synagogue, but owing doubtless to lack of funds the project remained in abeyance. Only during the Revolutionary War was this ideal realized. With the British occupation of New York, the patriotic Jews there, members of the congregation *Shearith Israel*, together with their minister, the Rev. Gershom Mendes

* Cyrus Adler, "Jews in America," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Second Edition, I, pp. 492-505.

† See Hyman Polock Rosenbach, *The Jews in Philadelphia Prior to 1800*, Philadelphia, 1883; also Sabato Morais, *Jews in Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1894.

‡ An historical sketch of the congregation *Mikveh Israel* by A. S. W. Rosenbach is contained in *Dedication of the New Synagogue of the Congregation Mikve Israel at Broad and York Streets on September 14, 1909, Elul 29, 5669* (Philadelphia, 1909). It should be noted that this congregation is the third oldest in the United States, the first being *Yeshuath Israel* of Newport, Rhode Island, which is said to have been established in 1658 though its synagogue was not built until 1763 (see Morris A. Gutstein, *The Story of the Jews of Newport*, New York, 1936), and the second being *Shearith Israel* of New York, which was established in 1695 though its synagogue was not erected until 1730 (see Hyman B. Grinstein, *The Rise of the Jewish Community of New York*, Philadelphia, 1945).

Seixas, were forced to flee to Philadelphia. The existing house of worship in the Quaker city was naturally too small to accommodate all the worshippers, and consequently new and larger quarters were sought. The Rev. Seixas became the first regular minister of the congregation and assisted in the building of its first permanent synagogue. According to him * there were at that time about thirty families of Jews in Philadelphia and about one hundred in the whole state of Pennsylvania. Although his war time sojourn in Philadelphia was brief (about four years, from 1780 to 1784), his influence was lasting and beneficial, and he is still remembered there with great respect and reverence.

The first building of the *Mikveh Israel* congregation, situated on Cherry Street between Third and Fourth Streets, was dedicated on September 13, 1782. It was a plain, neat, square building, having about thirty-six feet front; it was one story in height and could seat about two hundred people. In the rear of the synagogue was built a snug house as a residence or parsonage for the use of the minister. The cost of the building, eight hundred and fifteen pounds current money of the State of Pennsylvania, was defrayed by the members, chiefly Haym Salomon, the Polish Jew whose services to the Revolutionary cause were great.† Some contributions came from Sefardic Jews elsewhere, even as far distant as the West Indies. Nevertheless, the new congregation con-

* Quoted in Hannah Adams' *History of the Jews from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the Present Time* (Boston, 1812), II, 215 ff.

† See *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 2 (1894); also Charles Edward Russell, *Haym Saloman and the Revolution*, New York, 1930; Max Kohler, *Haym Salomon, the Patriot Broker of the Revolution*, New York, 1931.

tinued to struggle for its existence, its financial means being very precarious, and it is significant that in 1788, in response to an appeal for support, Benjamin Franklin and other non-Jews made contributions to its fund. It should be added that the *Mikveh Israel* congregation took the lead in 1790 in tendering to President Washington an address of congratulations, to which the President replied very courteously, dwelling on the liberality of sentiment shown by religious denominations in the country, a liberality unparalleled in the history of nations.*

It must be stressed that these Jews, whether Se-fardim or Ashkenazim, were strictly orthodox in their religion and therefore subject to age-long religious restrictions upon the exercise of their natural desires. This explains why their music was overwhelmingly religious and liturgical. According to the provisions of the Talmud and its concomitant legal codes, sacred song is obligatory in order to glorify the Almighty and His creation; not so profane or secular song, which partakes of the frivolous and licentious Greek music. This fact explains also why in their liturgy they used voices to the exclusion of instrumental music: after the destruction of the Temple, in 70 C. E., all instrumental music, for religious as well as secular purposes, was prohibited as a sign of national mourning over the Temple.† It further

* This and other interesting documents are reproduced in facsimile in *Dedication of the New Synagogue of the Mikve Israel . . .*, Philadelphia, 1909.

† See the Babylonian Talmud, tractate *Gittin*, fol. 7a. It was presumed by both Jews and Christians of that period that instrumental music, with its accentuated rhythm and rich sonority, is conducive to levity and licentiousness, as exemplified among pagan nations. Only in more modern times was this prohibition modified, first in the Church and later also in the Synagogue.

explains why their tunes were couched mostly in the doleful and mournful minor key: following their exile and martyrdom, during the Middle Ages, they had to perpetuate their sad experiences and tragic sufferings in verse and song for unwistful future generations. Indeed, most of the *piyyutim* (liturgical poems to which tunes are attached) contain a record of persecutions and bloody attacks on the Jews at some point of the extended Diaspora.*

Prayers were held in the synagogue every day, morning and evening, usually in plain recitative, but on Sabbaths and holidays most of the prayers were sung solemnly in some sort of measured song, with embellishments and flourishes, led by a trained *hazzan* or precentor and a tolerably well-trained male choir, with or without a director. On these special days the matutinal services were subdivided into a preliminary dawn service (*Shaharit*) and a more important final service (*Musaf*), often recited by two different precentors in stately cadences and well-balanced rhythm. The singing might be in unison or solo, the *hazzan* leading in the intonation and the congregation responding, either in single words† or in phrases forming a refrain,‡ or antiphonal, i.e., comprising the alternate singing of well-balanced groups.§

* See Leopold Zunz, *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1855; also *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, Berlin, 1865.

† Such as *Amen*, *Halleluyah*, *Hosanna*, etc.

‡ As with the words *ki le 'olam hasdō*, "for His mercy endureth forever," Psalms 118, 1-4 and 136.

§ As in the *Song of Moses* and the last portion of the *Hallel* psalms. That antiphonal singing was practiced in the Temple at Jerusalem may be seen from the *Mishna Sota* VII, 5.

As to the nature and essence of this sacred song, it was originally modal and non-rhythmical, like plain-song in the early Christian Church, stemming in large part from the Bible accents (*ta'amim*) or neumes,* though with variations and addition of motives. In order to understand the Jewish liturgical chant we must have a clear idea about these accents or neumes with which the biblical text is provided and with the aid of which the scriptures are intoned in the synagogue.† These are not musical notes in our sense of the word, but rather groups of notes or note combinations, in the nature of modes, remaining the same in form throughout the Bible but varying in tonal value for the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and Hagiographa.‡ Thus the Pentateuch mode is founded upon the two disjunct tetrachords $e - f - g - a + b - c - d - e$, identical with the ancient Greek Dorian mode. It expresses quiet dignity and is quite elevating in spirit. Many attempts have been made to reduce it to western European notation, the most notable being that of David de Pina in Bishop Jablonski's edition of the Hebrew Bible, Berlin, 1699. In the introduction to this Bible de Pina, a Jewish physician in the Sefardic community of Amsterdam who indulged in music as a

* For an explanation of neumes see *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Fourth Edition, III, 647 ff. All the leading exponents of the synagogal chant see it derived chiefly from the Bible accents.

† As a matter of fact no accents nor vowel-points are permitted in the manuscript Scrolls of the Law used in divine worship; hence the reader in the synagogue has to memorize the cantillation and recite it by rote. Not so with reading from the Prophets, which may be done from a printed book containing the vocalic and accentual signs.

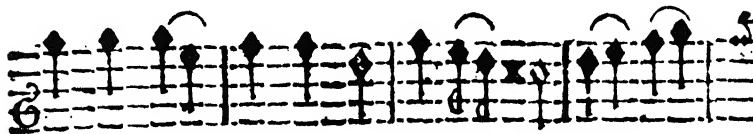
‡ See Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, p. 35 ff.

(o)

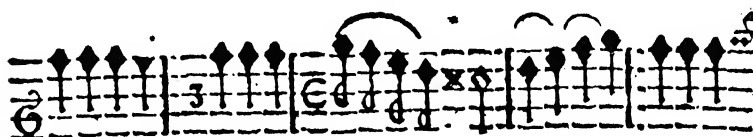


Zar ka,

maccaf, fo-



far, ho lech, se gol ta, pa zer ga dol,



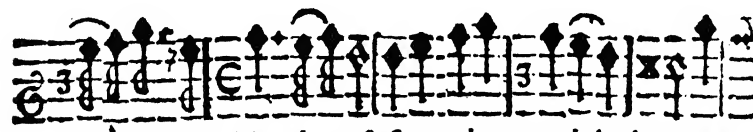
yareah benyomo Car ne fa ra, gahja,



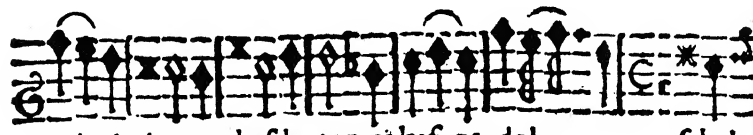
tal fa,

az la, ge ris,

pa



fer, re bi ah, sofar mehu pach, kad ma, te-



re kadmin, za kef ka ton, za kef ga dol,

fchal.

)o(

sche se negerl sin, te-

re tah me, darga,te bir, ma ha-

rich, tar cha, ar nach, ra fe, da geich, je

tib, tir la, si bolet, si bo

let, map pik be he, se va, gah ya, gahyah, se

va tof pa suk.

pastime, provided ecclesiastical musical notes for the Pentateuchal accents. On the basis of this decipherment Jablonski made an attempt to rewrite one long coherent passage, Gen. 48.15-16, in medieval Church notes (see illustration, p. 340). It should be stated that this mode does not apply to the entire Pentateuch; for the poetical portions, such as the Song of the Sea,* the Ten Commandments,† and the Blessing of Moses,‡ special modes of greater gravity and solemnity are used.

The mode of the Prophets is based on the tetrachords $d - e - f - g + a - b - c - d$, and is therefore identical with the ancient Greek Phrygian or the first Gregorian mode. In some instances this scale is altered to $d - e - f - g + g - a - b - c$, the scale of the plagal of the first Gregorian mode (Hypodorian). This is the principal scale in Jewish music, not only in the synagogue but also at home, since most of the folk-songs and popular lays are couched in it. It is sombre and emotional, full of pathos and yearning, and more than any other scale expresses the innermost feelings and stirrings of the soul; hence it is used for the minatory orations and exhortations of the Prophets as well as for Lamentations and for some psalms of a similar nature. Primarily this mode is used in the obligatory chanting of a portion of the Prophets—the so-called *Haftarah*—after the reading of the Pentateuch in the synagogue on Sabbaths and holidays.

The mode of the Hagiographa, chiefly the books of Job, Proverbs, and portions of Psalms, is based on the tetrachord $f - g - a - b$ -flat, which is identical with the

* Exodus, Chapter 15.

† Exod. 20, 2-17 and Deut. 5, 6-18.

‡ Deut., Chapter 33.

Ionian or modified Lydian scale. Though major in character it lacks the sinuosity and sweep of the modern major, and in its ancient Oriental form at least it had a serious and meditative complexion. With regard to the Psalms, it should be stated that their mode is really not uniform, but varies according to the form and content of each psalm. It should be remembered that the majority of the Psalms are couched in short two-part (parallelistic) verses, but that sometimes they are sprawled in more or less irregular forms. It stands to reason that, in accordance with form and content, various modes would be employed to intone them. The occasion, joyous or sad, whether for feast or fast day, naturally influenced their musical rendition. Generally speaking the Psalms were intoned in modes based either on the Dorian, the Gregorian or Hypophrygian, or the Lydian scale. Finally, mention must be made of the mode of Esther, used for the public reading in the synagogue of the Book of Esther on the fourteenth day of the month of Adar (in commemoration of the deliverance of the Persian Jews from the plot of Haman to exterminate them). But this mode, developed in the Ashkenazic liturgy to an artistic form with trills and turns, crescendos and diminuendos, in the Sefardic rite is very plain and simple, really a mere rapid recitative with some elevated points, especially at half and full stops.

As stated above, out of these biblical accents or primitive modes was evolved in subsequent years the variegated chant of the Jewish liturgy, first of the Doxology or Blessing and the *Shema* or Affirmation of Faith, then of the numerous prayers of all kinds, psalms, hymns, etc.* The Sefardic liturgy boasts of some of the most

* See Idelsohn *Jewish Music*, p. 72 ff.

ancient tunes of the Synagogue. By virtue of a more or less uninterrupted and uncontaminated tradition it managed to preserve some of these tunes in their pristine simplicity and original garb. Thus the Sefardic melody for *Az Yashir Mosheh* * is sometimes claimed to be the very song sung by Miriam and her companions on their emergence from the Red Sea. Its simplicity and dignity, and especially its limited range, at least testify to its antiquity. Further evidence is the testimony of Burckhardt, who noted during his travels in Arabia that this Sefardic melody resembles closely the Song of the Water-Carriers of Mecca.† Again, the melody associated with Psalm 114 (*Bezeth yisrael mimizrayim*—When Israel came forth out of Egypt), the *Hallel* or laudatory song sung on holidays and especially on the Feast of Passover,‡ is closely reminiscent of the famous *Tonus Peregrinus* in the Gregorian chant, which is generally admitted to be very old.§ It is an elementary tune, yet full of strength, dignity, and beauty. There is also a tradition that the melody of the Blessing of the Priests (*Birkat Kohanim*) is identical with that sung in the Temple of the Second Commonwealth, where priestly choirs were wont to bless the people daily, in accordance with the command of

* The well-known Song of Moses or Song of the Sea or Song of Deliverance, taken from Exod., Chapter 15.

† See Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Fourth Edition, II, 594.

‡ That it was sung on Passover in the days of Jesus may be seen from Mark 14.26.

§ See Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien*, III, 108 ff. In the Anglican Church this melody is employed for the prayer *Nunc dimittis* at the close of the Communion service.

AZ YASHIR MOSHE,

9

N^o 12.

a 4 Voci.

ALLEGRETTO MODERATO. (♩ = 100)

- el et ha-shi-ra ha- sot... la-do-nai va yo-me-ru le-

- mor mor A-do-nai ish nil cha-ma A-do-nai she-

- mo mgr-ke-bot Parng-ho ve-che-lo yn-ra ba-

- yam u-mib-char shali-shav tubeng-u beyam suf.

THE SONG OF MOSES

From *Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (London, 1857), with settings by E. Aguilar and D. A. de Sola.

EL NORAH ALILAH.

35

ALLEGRETTO MODERATO ♩ = 120.

N^o 36.

a 4 Voci.

El norah a-li-lah El norah a-li-lah

hamt si la-hu mechilah beshang-at ha-neng-il-lah, Me-teh mispar

Ke-ru-im lecha a-yin nose-im um saledim be-chi-la

beshang-at ha-neng-il-lah El norah a-li-lah El norah

a-li-lah hamt si la-hu mechi-lah beshang-at ha-neng-il-lah,

HYMN OF ATONEMENT

From *Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (London, 1857), with settings by E. Aguilar and D. A. de Sola.

Numbers 6, 22 ff. The touching simplicity and even the monotony of this melody tend to confirm the claim of its antiquity.

It has been observed more than once that the Sefardic chant is very monotonous and in places almost funereal. Above all it is contended that it lacks the richness and variety of the Ashkenazic chant, which from the Middle Ages on felt the influence of West-European music and its polyphonic and harmonic development. True, indeed, the Sefardic chant, like the Arabian and Persian chant under whose influence it stood during the early Middle Ages, consists largely of very short phrases often repeated; hence its sameness and monotony. As a matter of fact, most of the tunes of the Sefardim recall very closely the plain-song of the Mozarabian Christians, which flourished in Spain until the thirteenth century.* And yet we meet in the Sefardic liturgy with some very attractive and mellifluous tunes of matchless form and beauty. Such are, for instance, the melody to *Mizmór le-David* (Psalm 29) sung on the return of the Scrolls of the Law to the Ark of the Covenant, a stately hymn full of verve and animation, glorifying the Almighty and apotheosizing His unlimited power; the melody to *Adónay bekól shófar*, a very touching plaintive hymn intoned on New Year's Day, which, though couched in a sombre minor key, is redolent of tender warmth and calm dignity; the melody to *Yah shemang ebyóneka*, a jolly, lilting tune sung on the afternoon of the Day of Atonement with great sweep and mounting vigor; and, last but not least, the melody to *El nóra ngalilah*, a vibrant and

* See A. Z. Idelsohn, *Gesänge der Orientalischen Sefardim* (Part IV of *Thesaurus of Hebrew Oriental Melodies*), Berlin, 1923, p. 20 ff.

stirring hymn sung at the opening of the final service on the Day of Atonement, whose breadth, dignity, and beauty remind one strikingly of the great hymn of the Reformation *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*.

It was stated above that no instrumental music was permitted in the synagogue. One slight exception was made, however, in the case of the *shófar*.^{*} One of the oldest musical instruments in point of continuous use, the *shófar* is a ram's horn curved in shape and ornamented with silver at the mouthpiece. It was blown originally for the proclamation of the Jubilee Year (Lev. 25, 8 ff.), then also in war and on other occasions. It is used now during the month of Ellul, the month preceding the New Year Festival (*Rosh ha-Shannah*), on both days of which it is also blown a number of times during the service, and once at the close of the Day of Atonement (*Yom Kippur*).[†]

Outside the synagogue, some folk music was performed at home, but this was likewise religious and vocal and did not differ much from the synagogue chant. It should be stressed that Jewish folk song, like Jewish life in the last two thousand years, has been saturated with religious and ethical concepts and has contained nothing of a secular nature. Most of the songs are religio-

^{*} See Cyrus Adler, "The Shofar, Its Use and Origin," in *Proceedings of the United States National Museum*, XVI, 287-301.

[†] The tones of the *shófar* theoretically include all those of the overtone series, like the tones of the bugle or hunting horn; actually, however, custom and the proportions of the tube limit the number of tones in practical use to the first and second overtones, comprising an interval of a fifth. An approximate notation of various calls sounded on the *shófar* will be found in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Second Edition, XI, 306.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

nationalistic in content; as to form, they are couched in alphabetic acrostics, and some are built in stanzas with a recurring refrain. They were sung at the family-table on Sabbaths and holidays, their aim being to give tonal expression to the various holiday moods and to spiritualize the meals. Well-known is the grace after meals, which was adumbrated with psalms and hymns. Further, numerous songs and hymns were intoned during the elaborate ceremonies of circumcision, confirmation, and marriage. Even cradle and love songs, humorous lyrics and ballads, received a religious complexion, a certain impress of the religious life-concept that flowed in the Jew's blood. Some of these are known as *Elijah-songs*, dealing with the prophet Elijah who became the legendary guardian of Israel and was expected to be the messenger of the Messianid era. Their refrain runs as follows: "Elijah, the prophet, Elijah, the Tishbite, Elijah, the Gileadite, may he speedily come to us with the Messiah, the son of David."

Other songs, known as *Zemirot* or hymns, hinge on the words "Sabbath, the bride, the queen," and are sung at meals on Friday evening, Sabbath noon, Sabbath afternoon, and Sabbath night. A large group of popular songs is used for the celebration of the *Seder* on the first two nights of the Passover festival, when a special service known as the *Haggadah*, relating the exodus and redemption from Egypt, is recited and sung in a very elaborate way. Among these is the very old *Hallel* (Psalms 113-8) and some later folkloristic songs, such as *Ki lô naeh* ('Tis seemly God alone to praise), *Addir hu* (He is mighty), *Ehad mi yodea* (Who knows one?), a kind of nursery-rime, and *Had gadya* (One kid) likewise a nursery-rime,

in Aramaic. There were also special home songs for the festivals of Pentecost and Tabernacles, and lastly for the joyful feasts of *Hanukkah* and *Purim*.*

I have dealt exclusively with the music of the Sefardim because, as stated at the outset, the music of the Ashkenazim did not manifest itself to any extent in Pennsylvania before 1800. Only after that date, when the number of German and Polish Jews began to increase perceptibly, was an attempt made to organize an Ashkenazic community in Philadelphia and to build for it an independent synagogue. The congregation *Rodeph Shalom* of Philadelphia is conceded to be the earliest German Jewish congregation in North America, but it is known to have been officially established about 1800, if not a little later.† Its story, therefore, belongs to another era.

JOSEPH REIDER

* See A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, Chapter XVII, dealing with the folk song of the Oriental Jews (p. 357 ff.).

† See Edward Davis, *The History of Rodeph Shalom Congregation, Philadelphia, 1802-1926* (Philadelphia, 1926).

BACKGROUNDS OF WELSH MUSIC
IN COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA



THE WELSH BARD

Symbolic Frontispiece from Jones' *Relicks of the Welsh Bard*.

BACKGROUNDS OF WELSH MUSIC IN COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA

In their musical concerts [the Britons] do not sing in unison like the inhabitants of other countries, but in many different parts; so that in a company of singers, which one very frequently meets with in Wales, you will hear as many different parts and voices as there are performers, who all at length unite, with organic melody, in one consonance . . .*

The sturdy Welsh emigrants who settled in Colonial Pennsylvania brought with them a rich and varied musical heritage. Even the blighting influence of Puritanism was powerless to destroy that passion for part-singing which from earliest times had distinguished the people of Britain; although, pending the ultimate relaxation of an intolerance which at first warred with equal zest against the mortal sins and the harmless amenities of life, much of this passion had to be indulged in under cover. For this reason any public observance of the traditional Eisteddfod, that time-honored equivalent of our modern Cultural Olympics, was of course out of the question. We have no record that it was held anywhere in America until well along in the nineteenth century.†

Group singing, while always the chief characteristic of British music, has never been its sole manifestation. From time immemorial instrumental proficiency has been highly regarded, and it is probable that long before

* Giraldus de Barri (Cambrensis), *Description of Wales*, Book I, Chapter 13. A. D. 1188. [In Giraldus' *The Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales*, translated by Sir Richard C. Hoare and published in two volumes at London in 1806. Vol. II, p. 319].

† The first American Eisteddfod of nationwide scope was held at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.

the Roman occupation of Britain, Cymric minstrels accompanied their heroic ballads on the harp and the *crwth*,* two instruments which no doubt date back to primitive Druidical rites in neolithic circular amphitheatres. In the first century B. C., Diodorus Siculus, quoting † from the now lost work of an earlier Greek writer, says of the Celts of Gaul: "They have poets whom they call *bards*, who sing songs of eulogy and of satire, accompanying themselves on instruments very like the lyre. They also have philosophers and theologians whom they hold in extreme honor and name Druids. They possess prophets, too, who are much revered. . . . Friend and foe submit to the song of the bard. Often when two armies meet, and swords are drawn, and lances set, the bards throw themselves between the contending parties and pacify them, as one by magic subdues the wild beast."

Even in those prehistoric times when long-robed Druid priests chanted their hymns to the rising sun and celebrated the equinox and solstices in temples expressly designed to frame the solar rays on those specific occasions, bards already were journeying from village to village, singing heroic ballads of great tribal victories and signal deeds of prowess. And even then the first Eisteddfods were being held as primitive song contests, sponsored by petty chieftains and participated in by obscure music makers from nearby hamlets. Such, no doubt, were the crude beginnings of an institution which in later centuries was to assume nationwide proportions,

* An obsolete lyre-shaped instrument with six strings, four being played with a bow and two plucked by the thumb.

† *Bibliotheca Historica*, Book V, Chapter 31; translated by W. Dinan in *Monumenta Historica Celtica*, London, 1911; Vol. I, p. 321.

proclaimed by British kings and enlisting the rivalry of famous minstrels from distant provinces.

Although bards, as we have learned, were prominent in the early history of all Celtic peoples, in Britain they attained a standing rarely equalled elsewhere. Originating perhaps as musical sycophants, hired to sing the praises of some prince to whose court they were attached, the British bards later outgrew their original function,* assuming a cultural status exceeded only by that of the Druidic order.† The coming of Christianity at first proved no deterrent, and the sixth century saw the bards at the height of their influence. This, too, despite the waning fortunes of the Welsh people, who were being pushed back, slowly but surely, into that mountainous region which now bears the name of Wales. The Saxon invaders were powerless to interfere to any considerable extent with a culture which flourished even in adversity,

* This sycophantic function, however, seems to have survived in some quarters as late as the sixth century. Gildas, the historian of that period, in protesting against King Maelgwn's return from the pure life of a monk to his former dignity and ancient sins, says that "he no longer hears the sweet strains of ecclesiastical melody and the praises of God sung by the tuneful voices of His servants, but worthless laudation of himself, as the rascally, lying quacks who serve him spit out their bacchanalian ravings." (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Chapter 34, quoted in: John Edward Lloyd, *A History of Wales*; Second edition, London, 1912, p. 130.)

† Caesar, in his *Gallic War*, describes the Druidic system as follows: "The Druids do not go to war, nor pay tribute together with the rest; they have an exemption from military service and a dispensation in all matters. Induced by such great advantages, many embrace this profession of their own accord, and (many) are sent to it by their parents and relations. They are said there to learn by heart a great number of verses; accordingly some remain in the course of training twenty years. Nor do they regard it lawful to commit these to writing, though in almost all other matters . . . they use Greek characters."

and the Normans were equally unsuccessful. Many centuries later, the chilling breath of Puritanism almost succeeded where force of arms had previously failed.

Tradition places the first Eisteddfod, other than those of the legendary past, in the seventh century during the reign of King Cadwaladr. Other celebrated tourneys occurred in the ninth and eleventh centuries, but no exact dates are obtainable and in some instances the exact locations are not given. When the twelfth century is reached, however, we find ourselves on firmer ground. There is definite record* of a great festival tournament of song, poetry, and instrumental music which was held at Aberteifi in 1176. This great feast, the first Eisteddfod which can be verified historically, was announced, for a full year in advance, in Wales, England, Scotland, Ireland, and even "in more distant lands." Detailed information as to the individual contests and their winners are provided in both manuscript accounts.

From this time onward, all such noteworthy Eisteddfods have been fairly well documented as to their dates and locations, and even as to their contestants. But the Welsh habit of transmitting priceless traditional treasures of melody and poetry from generation to generation by word of mouth rather than through written records has made even the vaguest outline of the actual works as performed at these festivals a highly conjectural affair. About the middle of the eighteenth century, and despite that prevailing evangelical fervor which threatened to consign all Welsh folk music to oblivion, certain steps were taken to remedy this sad situation. John

* In the manuscripts *Brut Y Tywysogion* and *Brut y Saeson*, quoted in *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* compiled by Owen Jones, Edward Williams, and others; London, 1801-1807 (3 volumes); pp. 632, 682.

Parry and Evan Williams in 1742 brought out the first volume consisting entirely of Welsh melodies, and later in the century several other collections were published. It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that a group of painstaking British musicologists attempted, however belatedly, to salvage whatever Puritan intolerance had left of Cymric music by making a systematic record of the songs and dances of old Wales as remembered by a handful of surviving performers. That any of this heritage has been preserved for posterity is due largely to the tireless efforts of these scholars.

Thanks to their thoroughness, and to that of the recent Cymric reawakening, it is probable that modern *Eisteddfods* differ in detail rather than in general outline from those of early days. As at present, the typical tourney of competing minstrels continued for periods varying from two days to a full week, and included contests in poetry and oratory, in choral, ensemble, and solo singing, and in the playing of traditional Welsh instruments. Then, as now, the culminating event of the festival was the seating of the winner, the Bard of Bards, chosen on the final day of the proceedings and conducted to his seat of honor with appropriate ceremonies.

Throughout all the centuries which were required to amalgamate Wales with the rest of the British Commonwealth, such nationwide competitions were being held with considerable regularity. This proud and freedom-loving people, though ultimately overcome by sheer force of numbers, somehow contrived through it all not only to retain their own self-respect and the respect of their conquerors, but also to preserve and even to extend many of their own national customs and institutions. To this day the heir-apparent to the throne of the globe-circling

British Empire bears the title *Prince of Wales*, thereby permanently identifying him with a geographically insignificant and economically impoverished segment of this mighty domain.* And even after the final Act of Union, in 1536, English monarchs continued to proclaim all Eisteddfods of more than provincial scope. The last of these great festivals to be held under royal auspices occurred in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Subsequently, because of the steady advance of Puritanism, national Eisteddfods were discontinued, not to be resumed for a long period,† the darkest and dreariest in Welsh history.

Even the dark cloud of Puritanism had its silver lining, however, at least in Wales. Religious dissent, which began there in 1638 with the establishment of a small community for independent worship, sowed the seed which was later to ripen into a great religious and cultural revival. At the close of the seventeenth century the great masses of the people were completely illiterate and the language itself was rapidly approaching extinction. It remained for a Welsh rector, Griffith Jones, to solve this problem by setting up a system of circulating rural schools, free to all and with a curriculum which, while primarily religious, laid great emphasis on familiarity with the native tongue. So effective was this work that by the time of his death over a third of the population had been taught to read the Scriptures. A powerful contributing factor was supplied by popular evangelists

* On the other hand, an eminent author, Stopford Brooke, is quoted as having said that no English poet has ever written any deathless verse unless he had Welsh blood.

† While the religious revival which occurred during the eighteenth century brought with it a great educational awakening, the cultural rebirth really dates from the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

who preached exclusively in Welsh and whose tracts and hymnals were also in the erstwhile fading Cymric vernacular.

These popular evangelists, however, were simultaneously crusading against the native folk songs and dances which, in the absence of written records, depended entirely on public performance for their survival.* In consequence, many specimens of both forms have been permanently lost to us, Welsh dance tunes in particular having been so sternly suppressed that few have survived. Secular songs fared somewhat better, although in many instances their melodies, driven underground during the long winter of Puritan intolerance, later emerged not in their original form but as hymn tunes.

On the credit side of the Puritan ledger, however, we should in simple justice mention the important part played by dissenting evangelical sects in freeing congregational singing from the psalter straitjacket in which it had so long been confined. The Established Church, it is true, sought to circumvent the dictum that only Scriptural texts might be employed by authorizing so-called "free" metrical adaptations of the Psalms, and this camouflage gradually paved the way for the inclusion of wholly original material. But it remained for the evan-

* Edward Jones, in the preface to his *Bardic Museum*, published in 1802, tells us that "The sudden decline of the national Minstrelsy, and Customs of Wales, is in a great degree to be attributed to the fanatick imposters, or illiterate plebeian preachers, who have too often been suffered to over-run the country, . . . dissuading them from their innocent amusements, such as Singing, Dancing, and other Rural Sports, and Games, which heretofore they had been accustomed to delight in, from the earliest time. In the course of my excursions through the Principality, I have met with several Harpers and Songsters, who actually had been prevailed upon by these erratic strollers to relinquish their profession, from the idea that it was sinful."

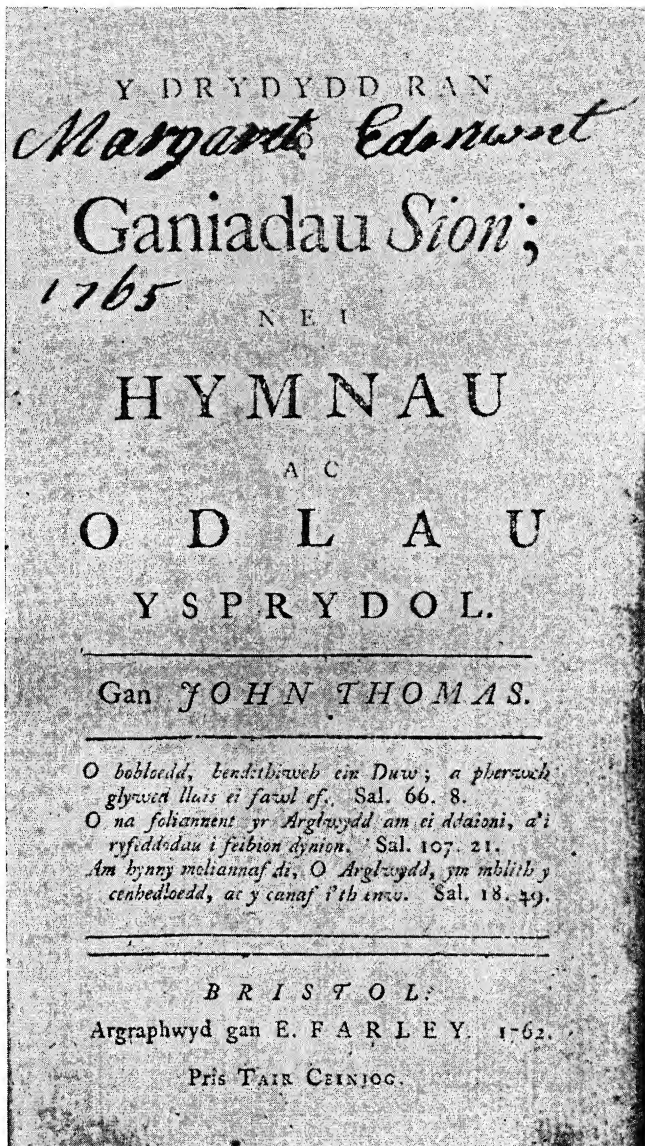
gelical sects to take the lead in supplanting psalters with out-and-out hymnals which were honestly labelled as such.*

Despite the rapid multiplication of dissenting sects throughout England, Scotland and Wales, the prevailing intolerance of the age brought persecution and imprisonment for public adherence to their practices. Among those especially singled out for this cruel treatment were the Friends or Quakers, who in addition to their determined opposition to war and military service were also quite unjustly suspected of being in secret alliance with the hated Papists.† Therefore it came as a welcome relief when in 1681 William Penn, a politically prominent adherent of this sect, received from King Charles II, in payment of a long-standing indebtedness, an enormous grant of land in the New World, and immediately announced that this great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania was to be a haven where all persons, regardless of creed, might worship freely and openly according to the dictates of their own consciences.‡

* Even Isaac Watts, while maintaining in a preface that he could write psalms better suited to the needs of democratic Christian worship than those of David, nevertheless found it expedient for conservative acceptance of his hymns to continue the practice of regarding them as freely-adapted Scriptural texts.

† This suspicion was due entirely to their unheard-of liberality in asserting that even Papists had the right to worship as they pleased.

‡ Despite Penn's insistence on freedom of worship throughout the Commonwealth, religious tests were speedily imposed on all office-holders, and these lasted until the American Revolution. Penn, however, cannot be blamed for this, as his Charter expressly provided for a large measure of control by the Privy Council.



Title Page of *The Third Part of the Songs of Sion or Hymns and Spiritual Verses* by John Thomas, published at Bristol by E. Farley in 1762. (From a copy used in colonial Pennsylvania, now in the possession of The Welsh Society of Philadelphia.)

There is good reason for the belief that Penn himself was of Welsh descent. At any rate, partly because of his close ties with Cymric Quakers and partly because of the high value which he placed on the Welsh as colonizers, we find him, in 1684, setting aside large tracts in what are now Chester, Montgomery, and Delaware Counties for exclusive and autonomous administration by the Welsh. To these tracts he added another in northern Delaware,* which at that time was considered a part of Pennsylvania and hence comes within the framework of our chapter. These grants, in addition to the powerful incentive of virgin soil awaiting the hand of the husbandman, held forth the promise that here at last was that long-awaited opportunity for the colonists to establish a genuine Welsh Barony, with their own language and customs, answerable only to the central administration of Penn himself, and completely freed from the petty restrictions of local English authority.

The first Welsh settlers reached Pennsylvania in the summer of 1682. Their boat landed at Upland (now Chester), and after proceeding first to Philadelphia they crossed the Schuylkill and entered the territory where lay their expected holdings. Shortly thereafter they founded the village of Merioneth, a title which was later shortened to its present designation of Merion. The township bearing the same name was subsequently established, and other settlers arriving somewhat later founded the townships of Haverford and Radnor. Much of this

* Penn's title to Delaware, implicit in the grant of Charles II, was later made explicit in a decree by James II. The citizens of Delaware subsequently obtained local self-government under the general authority of the Governor of Pennsylvania, thus paving the way for eventual statehood.

land had been parcelled out by the colonists while they were still in Wales, acting through companies which supposedly had made definite sales contracts with Penn himself. They had fondly expected not only that their individual deeds of purchase entitled them to specific and well-marked parcels of land, but also that the Welsh Tracts in their entirety were to be immune from outside English tyranny and from occupancy by English-speaking landowners. Unfortunately, William Penn, although inspired by the loftiest of intentions, was beset by many troubles and had to engage in countless manipulations to maintain his all-essential standing at Court. Furthermore, many of the conditions of these grants had been oral, and hence dependent on the memory of the contracting parties. So it is hardly surprising that before the turn of the century we find the Welsh of Merion, Radnor, and Haverford Townships protesting the sale of lands within these supposedly Welsh territories to English-speaking settlers whom they regarded as squatters, and whose presence in increasing numbers meant an early end to their dream of establishing a true Welsh Barony west of the Schuylkill.

Back in Philadelphia, the city-dwelling Welsh, although greatly outnumbered by their English brothers, were nevertheless imbued from the outset with their usual keen national-consciousness. It is highly probable that quite early in the century they held many unofficial gatherings inspired by the purpose of keeping alive the language and traditions of their native land. This practice failed to assume concrete form, however, until St. David's Day, 1729, when a group of prominent Philadelphians of Cymric birth met at the house of Robert Davis to organize "The Society of the Sons of Ancient

Bretons." The first mention of this organization appears in the February 25th issue of *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, which had just taken its place as the second newspaper in the Colony. The report reads as follows:

"We are informed that several gentlemen and other persons of reputation, of the honorable stock of Ancient Bretons, design to erect themselves into a society to meet together annually on the first day of March, or St. David's Day. In order thereto, on the first day of next month, there will be a sermon preached in the ancient British language by Dr. Wayman, in this city, and a psalm set to the organ; from thence the society are to go and partake of a handsome collation at the house of Robert Davis, at the Queens Head in King Street, where tickets are to be delivered out for the said entertainment."

Just how long these annual meetings were continued is somewhat uncertain. Horatio Gates Jones, in his account of the early days of the Welsh Society, is unable to find a complete record. Along about this time there also came into existance the Society of Fort St. David's, as a rival fishing organization of the "Colony in Schuylkill," and this society of fishermen who had a little cabin on the rocks near the Falls of Schuylkill was also known as "the Welsh Society."

Like most societies, those to which the Welsh belonged found their activities interrupted by the Revolution. After peace had returned and the transition from Colony to Commonwealth had been successfully accomplished, many of these organizations were reconstituted. So it was that on March 1, 1798, a new society for the relief of Welsh emigrants was organized at the house of William Ogden. Prominent in the list of subscribers

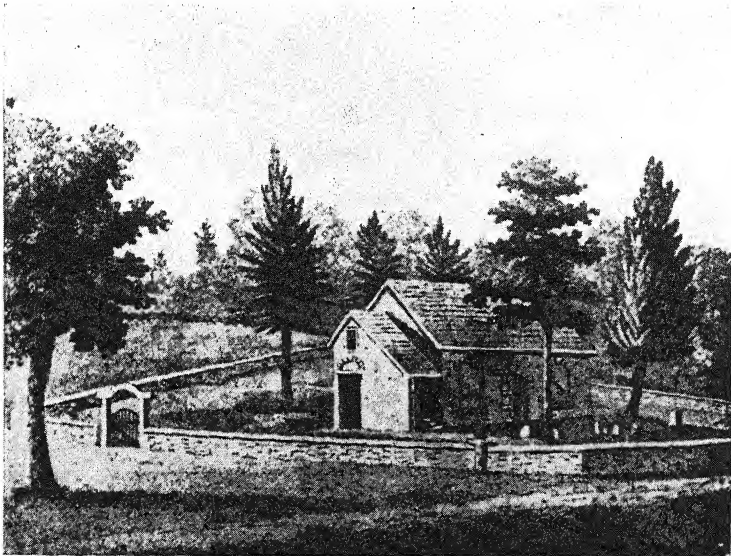
were the names of Samuel Meredith, Clement Biddle, Cadwalader Evans, Mordecai Lewis, and Robert Wharton. The drafting of the Constitution of the Society was entrusted to a committee consisting of Clement Biddle, John Thomas, and Morgan John Rhees. The latter, a Welsh clergyman, is credited with the authorship of the preamble to the Constitution, and Horatio Gates Jones holds that a passage in this preamble clearly states that the Welsh Society of 1798 is the direct descendant of the Society of Ancient Bretons which was organized in 1729. The passage reads as follows: "This ancient institution, so much the pride and honor of its founders and supporters, and so much the object of grateful remembrance by the many who have shared in its bounty and assistance, having been accommodated to existing circumstances from time to time, with respect to form, is now established by an act of incorporation and then presented to the Society in the form of the following Constitution."

We should like to be able to report that Welsh music was a prominent feature of these meetings of the Society prior to the nineteenth century and hence within the prescribed limits of our chapter. The records, however, disclose nothing to encourage this belief. Therefore it seems highly probable that the music, if any, consisted entirely of group singing, perhaps of a few familiar hymns and traditional secular airs. But we may be quite certain that these simple melodies, if sung at all, were rendered with that deep fervor and complete harmonic balance which have always distinguished Welsh choruses, even those devoid of professional training and unable to read musical notation.

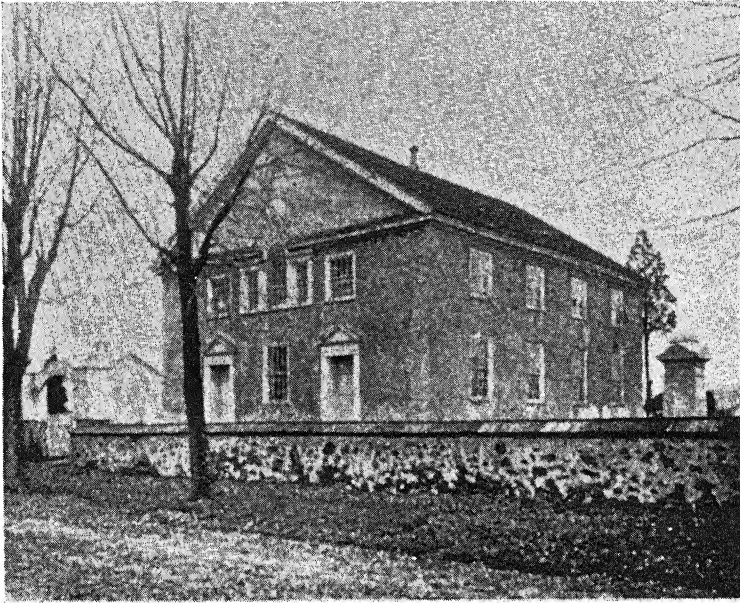
While the official opening of the Welsh Tracts to outside purchasers had permanently ended all hopes of es-

tablishing a Welsh Barony in Colonial Pennsylvania, it at the same time failed to end the purely Welsh character of several churches within their borders. Prominent among these were the Pencador Baptist Church, situated not far from New Castle and well within the present State of Delaware, and Great Valley Presbyterian Church at Shady Hollow near Paoli. Both of these congregations not only conducted the majority of their services in the Cymric tongue for many years after the disappearance of the Welsh Tracts as separate administrative entities, but also kept their early church records in Welsh.

Outstanding among those rural congregations which from the outset alternated in the use of English and Welsh were two representing the Church of England, Saint Peter's-in-the-Great-Valley, organized in 1700, and



OLD ST. DAVID'S AT RADNOR
From an eighteenth century painting.



PENNEPEK BAPTIST CHURCH

From Keen's *Bi-centennial Celebration*.

Old Saint David's at Radnor, founded in 1715. To these must be added the earliest among still-surviving Baptist churches in Pennsylvania, that at Pennepek, now lying within the confines of Philadelphia County but then located in Lower Dublin Township. Two prominent churches of early Philadelphia were Christ Church of the Established Faith and the First Baptist Church. The former was the Mother Church * of all worshippers of

* Except insofar as Christ Church itself was kept in the status of a mission by the Venerable Society, which at first retained a large measure of control over all Established Churches in Pennsylvania.

this denomination in the Philadelphia district, while the latter was established as a mission of the Pennepek Church.*

Although an organ was installed at Christ Church as early as 1728, congregational singing at most churches, especially in rural districts, remained without accompaniment until well after the Revolutionary War. Welsh congregations, like others of the period, still adhered rather closely to the use of psalters. Hymnals were making slow headway against the prejudices of old-fashioned worshippers, but the evangelical prowess of Whitefield and the hymn-writing genius of Wesley made their eventual adoption inevitable. Furthermore, psalters and hymnals alike were so scarce during the Colonial period that congregations made a regular practice of singing practically everything from memory, aided of course by the traditional practice of "lining" the psalms or hymns.†

* Musically speaking, the most important of the early Baptist churches is the "Welsh Tract Church," formed in 1701 by dissenters who withdrew from the Pennepek community and located in what is today Delaware. The eighteenth century minister and historian, Morgan Edwards, writes (*Materials toward a history of the Baptists in Delaware State*, in *The Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography*, Vol. IX, p. 52): "Welsh-Tract Church was the principal if not the sole means of introducing singing . . . into the Middle States . . . Singing psalms met with some opposition, especially at Cohansey."—EDITOR'S NOTE

† The unsatisfactory musical results of the "lining-out" method were not submitted to without a struggle, however. Dr. William W. Keen (*The bi-centennial celebration of the founding of the First Baptist Church of the city of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1899, p. 180) finds that on September 7, 1761, that church "agreed that the Psalms be sung without giving out the lines," and on March 5, 1763, "the congregation were notified to obtain psalm-books in order to avoid this inconvenience." Yet elsewhere (p. 155) Dr. Keen relates that as late as 1819 a

This unaccompanied singing in Welsh churches was not, however, of the amateurish unison type indulged in by the vast majority of English-speaking congregations. Even the harmonic support of professional choirs and the groundwork afforded by instrumental accompaniment are usually insufficient to make the latter musically palatable. As truly observed by Giraldus Cambrensis many centuries ago, the Welsh are part-singers by instinct, and

committee of the First Baptist Church recommended the use of lamps instead of candles in order to save \$19.35 a year and to do away with "the necessity of parsing out the hymns."

Further describing early musical customs in the First Baptist Church, Dr. Keen writes (p. 180): "A clerk usually led the music and occupied a place immediately below the pulpit. On April 2, 1763, two tunes not being approved of by some, a committee was ordered to select the tunes, but I do not find any record of such selection until March 2, 1789, when thirty-one psalm tunes were selected, as follows:

Common Meter:

Isle White,
Brunswick,
Coleshill,
Mur,
Bangor,
Rochester or St. Michal,
St. Humphry,
St. Martin's,
98th,
5th,
34th,
Suffield,
Virginia.

S. M.:

Little Marlborow,
New Eagle Street,
Worksworth or
Ailsborow,
St. Thomases,
Orange.

Long Meter:

136th,
Old 100,
New 100,
Greens 100,
Wells,
Brookfield,
Wellington,
Morning Hymn,
Bath,
Savannah,
Angle Hymn.

P. M.:

Lennox,
Amhurst.

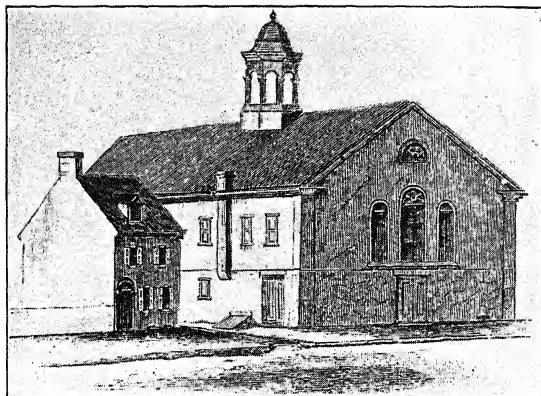
even in cases where not one member of a congregation is musically educated, the harmony is nevertheless authentic, the voices correctly balanced, and the tonal volume like that of a great organ. And though an all-male gathering requires an entirely different allocation of parts, this is apparently achieved with the same instinctive though untutored musicianship as that which characterizes Welsh mixed singing. Above all, the listener finds himself enthralled and uplifted by the fervor and intensity of Cymric choruses. Because of their harmonic division, one never misses that instrumental support without which the usual variety of congregational singing is sad indeed. Not until the nineteenth century was the somewhat earlier use of a "chapel bass" * augmented by the addition of other and more adequate accompanying instruments. But by then such harmonic support was urgently needed, as services in the Welsh tongue had been practically discontinued and the Welsh part-singing had been replaced by that monotonous unison (varied by unfortunate attempts on the part of a few would-be altos, tenors, and basses) which makes the congregational singing of nearly all English-speaking churches musically painful rather than inspiring.

GEORGE VAIL

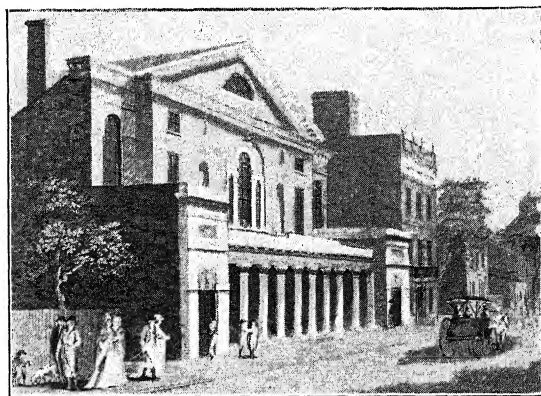
* Surviving examples more nearly resemble a primitive violoncello.

BALLAD OPERA IN PHILADELPHIA IN
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

*The
Southwark*



*The
Chestnut
Street*



OLD PHILADELPHIA THEATRES

From prints in the possession of the late Thomas Ridgway, Esq.

BALLAD OPERA IN PHILADELPHIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

PIONEER DAYS

THE first ballad opera formally presented in the Province of Pennsylvania was *The Beggar's Opera*, of which the English foretaste has been narrated at length in this history of the musical life of old Philadelphia.* This occurred August 24, 1749, with the possibility of an earlier performance, since the advent in Philadelphia of the young actors, Thomas Kean and Walter Murray, was coincident with the desire of a sufficient number of substantial residents for a season of stage performances. It has been assumed Kean and Murray came from Jamaica, with perhaps other players, as Kingston actors from London had been making a fair living for some years by the patronage of the wealthy planters, who had encouraged the erection of a respectable theatre. From Jamaica had come the flamboyant stroller Tony Aston, whose travels from South Carolina to Philadelphia in 1703 have been previously described and whose libretto of *The Fool's Opera* and quaint *Sketch* of his life enlivens the preceding pages of this work. He lodged at Story's Pewter Platter tavern on Front Street at the first alley above Market, then High Street, and no doubt was the first actor to ask hospitality of the Quaker town, whose rulers forbade such worldly trumperies as stage plays.

* Strictly speaking, the term "ballad opera" applies only to comic operas with spoken dialogue in which new song texts are set to old tunes. Certain writers, however, have used the term to denote all eighteenth century English comic opera (see George Tufts, "Ballad Operas," in *The Musical Antiquary*, Jan. 1913, pp. 61-86), and that usage was adopted by Mr. Ridgway in writing the present article. (EDITOR'S NOTE)

Philadelphia by the middle of the 18th Century was ready for a theatre, the rigid narrowness of the life of the Friends not being acceptable to the new generation who became accustomed to the more worldly pleasures allowed members of the English Church. The latter had greatly increased in numbers and wealth, had built Christ Church and gained a share in the government of both Province and City.

One of the leading Anglicans was William Plumsted (1708-65), native of Philadelphia, son of a prosperous merchant; a founder in 1732 of the State in Schuylkill, now the oldest club in the English-speaking world; a trustee of the College of Philadelphia, the present University of Pennsylvania; Mayor of Philadelphia in 1750 and again in 1755; and among the first subscribers to the Philadelphia Dancing Assemblies. He was a founder and vestryman of St. Peter's Church where he was buried.*

No doubt Kean made a good impression when applying to Mr. Plumsted for an opportunity to conduct a theatrical season, because the latter changed a large warehouse he owned on Water Street into a theatre with stage, pit, and gallery. It was between Pine and Lombard Streets, extending through to Front Street. Here Kean and his company produced plays from August 1749 to January 1750, and there is a record that on August 22nd they acted Addison's tragedy of *Cato* before a "general" audience. Kean secured one recruit from the young women of Philadelphia, Nancy George, who remained with the Company during their seasons in New York.

* A handsome portrait of him by Wollaston is at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Unfortunately, the performances were not advertised in the Philadelphia newspapers, *The Pennsylvania Gazette* on March 6, 1750 containing the only reference in announcing "a company of comedians from Philadelphia" had arrived in New York. Kean and his associates played there for two seasons, March 5, 1750 to July 1751, in a house on Nassau Street fitted up as a theatre. In that city their plays were advertised and it is quite certain they repeated the repertory given in Philadelphia. The plays were those popular in London, and since on the opening night Kean acted Shakespeare's *Richard III*,* it is likely that the first play by Shakespeare acted on this continent was that tragedy and that Philadelphia witnessed its first performance.

The assumption that *The Beggar's Opera* was given by Kean in Philadelphia, because it was presented in New York, does not apply with equal force for the reasons that it was not produced early after Kean left Philadelphia, indeed, not until the autumn of 1750. Kean, like most professionals of that day, was singer as well as tragedian. At his benefit when he sang *Captain Macheath*, the first in America of a long line of the hero of the most popular ballad opera of the eighteenth century, he added an *Oratorio* and the crowd was so great that many ticket holders were unable to gain admittance.† The last night of his second season in New York was July 8, 1751, when closed the first company of actors on this continent to give stage representations of the standard dramas of the day.

After Kean's departure from Philadelphia, Mayor Plumsted's theatre may have been used for occasional

* March 5, 1750: Seilhamer's *History of the American Theatre*, i, 6.

† *Ibid.*, i, 9.

concerts or amateur performances but there is no record of its use until Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Hallam and their Company opened "the New Theatre in Water Street" on April 15, 1754 and played three nights a week until June 24, 1754.

"This season probably included 30 nights, of which we have record of only six." * The tragedy of *The Fair Penitent* was played on the opening night and Cibber's *The Provoked Husband* on the last. Fortunately a playbill exists for May 24, 1754,† when Lewis Hallam took his benefit and acted with his wife in *Tunbridge Walks*, which was followed by *The Country Wake or Hob in the Well*.‡ The latter is billed as a Ballad Opera but it does not justify the appellation, being a vulgar, rowdy farce with a comic song for *Hob* and a ballad for *Flora*. Young Hallam, soon to become leading tragedian, appears on the bill as "Master L. Hallam."

The Country Wake was designed as an uproarious entertainment by Thomas Doggett, who died in 1721 after having played *Hob* for many years. A versatile comedian, he was a partner of Cibber and Wilks in the management of Drury Lane Theatre, and his memory has been kept green by the fund he gave to establish an annual cash prize for the race between the Thames watermen, rowed every year in August from London Bridge to Chelsea ‡ and regularly continued until the recent

* *The Philadelphia Theatre in the Eighteenth Century* by Thomas Clark Pollock, 76. Nearly all dates of performances in this article are from this accurate and invaluable work and all interested in the stage owe much to its accomplished author.

† A copy of this playbill is in the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and is reproduced by Pollock.

‡ *Annals of the English Stage from Thomas Betterton to Edmund Keen. Actors—Authors—Audiences* by Dr. Doran, Lowe's Edition, i, 176-7.



7

by Garrick in **HOB** *by Buckingham*

Carrying a kindly Letter.

The terrible Law when it fastens is slow, and a poor man he grips till he's
 undone; what I am doing may turn to my ruin, tho' rich as if Lord Mayor of London.
 Therefore I'll be wary, what measure I carry, and lest we fight make a sure companion.
 I will be damn'd if I'm thoroughly satisfied, that I shan't suffer a harding.

According to y^e Late Act Octo.^r 20. 1737.

HOB'S SONG IN *The Country Wake*

war. A condensed version of his farce became popular in colonial theatres as an after piece under the title of either *Flora* or *Hob in the Well*, but its subsequent performance is here disregarded as not germane to the subject of ballad operas.

The prices of seats during this first Philadelphia season of the Hallams were six shillings for the boxes, four for the pit, and two shillings, six pence, for the gallery. The curtain went up at seven o'clock, the doors being opened at five.

Lewis Hallam, his wife, daughter, and two young sons, with ten actors and actresses, engaged in London, arrived in July, 1752, at Williamsburg, then the capital of Virginia. This was the first company organized abroad with prompt books, costumes, and scenery for a planned theatrical tour of this country. They opened at Williamsburg on September 5, 1752, in *The Merchant of Venice*, which Dunlap, ignoring Kean's production of *Richard III*, states in his *History of the American Theatre* was the first performance of Shakespeare in America. Hallam's company remained in the South for a year and then played in New York City from September 17, 1753, to March 25, 1754, following with the short Philadelphia season and then returning to Kingston, Jamaica, where Hallam died.

THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

At Kingston, David Douglas, a versatile member of the Company, married the widow. In 1758 Mr. and Mrs. Douglas, with her son, Lewis Hallam, Jr., returned to the Colonies, and until the commencement of the Revolution Douglas was the most enterprising manager of his day. After playing in New York the winter of 1758-59, he

brought his company to Philadelphia, only to find the opposition by the Quakers so strong against his opening Plumsted's Theatre that he was forced hastily to erect a wooden building, at the southwest corner of South Street and Vernon (now Hancock) Street; the latter, a small street just west of Front Street, was outside City limits and beyond municipal control. This playhouse was known as the *Society Hill Theatre*, because the land on the high bluff along the Delaware from Dock Street to Pine was called Society Hill, it being part of a large grant by Penn to The Free Society of Traders.

Douglas opened his new theatre on June 25, 1759, with Rowe's tragedy of *Tamerlane*, in which Mrs. Douglas, formerly Mrs. Hallam, played the famous role *Arpasia* and her son, Lewis Hallam the younger, played the name part. She spoke a prologue written for the occasion by Francis Hopkinson, who was considered "next to Franklin the most versatile mind of 18th century America." The season lasted until December 28, 1759, and five of Shakespeare's tragedies were given, including *Hamlet* for the first time on this continent, Hallam, then nineteen, playing the Prince and Mrs. Harman *Ophelia*.

Whatever the doubt about Kean having given *The Beggar's Opera*, in 1749, there is none that it was presented on August the 24th, 1759, by Douglas with Harman as *Macheath*, Mrs. Harman as *Mrs. Peachum* and Mrs. Love as *Polly*. It was repeated on November 9th with the same cast.

Mrs. Harman was Kitty Charke, a granddaughter of the eminent comedian, Colley Cibber, her mother being his notorious daughter, Charlotte Charke. Harman and she were strollers in England when they married. He must have been a good actor from the importance of his

parts. He appears to have died soon after this Philadelphia season, but Kitty continued to act until she died in 1773, in her forty-third year, in the city of New York.

Mrs. Charles Love, the first *Polly*, was the wife of a teacher of music in New York. She had sung in the company of the elder Hallam and later developed into a prominent member of the Douglas company.

Douglas did not return to Philadelphia for over six years. He arrived with his associates in June of 1766, and may have given some performances at his Society Hill Theatre but there is no record of them. No doubt it was because that poorly built frame house was in such lack of repair that he determined to build a new theatre in Southwark. He secured on ground rent a lot of about fifty feet on the south side of Cedar at the corner of the first alley (now Leithgow Street) west of 4th Street upon which he erected during the summer a substantial theatre of brick with frame work painted red. It was the first theatre in the Colonies built for permanence, and was in use for half a century. At first called the *New Theatre*, it became better known as *The Southwark*. Douglas now called his company *The American Company*, which opened the theatre on November 14th, and acted three times a week until July 6, 1767. Lewis Hallam was again the leading man and a newcomer from London, Miss Margaret Cheer, was the leading lady, Mrs. Douglas yielding the youthful heroines inappropriate for her advancing years.

On November 28, 1766, *The Beggar's Opera* was given with a new singer, Stephen Woolls, as *Macheath*, Mrs. Harman again as *Mrs. Peachum* and Miss Wainwright as *Polly*. In January, 1767, the second ballad opera to be heard in Philadelphia, *Love in a Village*, first

produced in 1762 in London, was presented with Woolls as *Hawthorne* and Miss Wainwright as *Rosetta*. It was repeated on March 19, 1767. According to a critic in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, who had seen it in London, "it was done here beyond expectation" and "Miss Wainwright is a very good singer and her action (sic) exceeds the famous Miss Brent," and "Mr. Woolls almost equals Beard in *Hawthorne*." This was high praise indeed, as Miss Brent was the leading actress-singer of London, and Beard for many years was the unrivaled tenor of the British stage. Both Woolls and Miss Wainwright were pupils of Thomas Arne and no doubt before they left London were rehearsed by him in his *Love in a Village* (libretto by Isaac Bickerstaffe).

Arne's after-piece *Thomas and Sally* was given on February 20, 1767, by Woolls and Miss Wainwright. On the 27th of that month they presented Colley Cibber's ballad opera entitled *Damon and Philida*. This was called a "pastoral farce" and was originally produced in 1729 at the Haymarket Theatre, and was always played after the principal play of the evening.

It was appropriate that Cibber's attractive little piece should be shown on the stage where his granddaughter, Mrs. Harman, played *Mrs. Peachum*. His comedy *Love Makes a Man* was also acted this season, March 14, 1767, at the Southwark for the first time in the colonies with Hallam, Mr. and Mrs. Douglas, and Miss Cheer in the leading parts.

On April 20, 1767, for the first time in America the ballad opera *The Contrivances* was presented after the performance of Congreve's tragedy *The Mourning Bride*. Probably it was a much shortened version for use as an after-piece. Henry Carey (1685-1743), its composer, is

referred to in *Backgrounds of English Musical Life in Pennsylvania*, Part 1 of this volume, which contains a facsimile of its title page.

Carey was the author of the ballad *Sally in Our Alley* and the words and music of *God Save the King*, first sung in 1740. He holds an interest in stage history, because it was his granddaughter who gave birth to the famous tragedian, Edmund Kean. *The Contrivances* was first produced in 1715 at Drury Lane Theatre. It was repeated at the Southwark on April 24th after the first performance of *The Prince of Parthia*, and again on June 8th. The cast was no doubt the same as when it was sung during the season following, January 11, 1768, at the John Street Theatre in New York:

Rovewell	Woolls	Robin	Tomlinson
Argus	Morris	Betty	Mrs. Harman
Hearty	Allyn	Arethusa ..	Miss Wainwright

The Contrivances failed to gain a permanent place in popular taste and was only performed twice thereafter, December 9, 1768, and January 6, 1769.

Towards the close of the season, Miss Wainwright, for her Benefit Night, June 4, 1767, produced as an after-piece *The Chaplet*, which was described as "the combination of pleasing poetry and exquisite music." Its score was by William Boyce (1710-79), a noted composer of church music. Miss Wainwright was *Laura*, Woolls *Damn*, and Mrs. Harman *Pastora*. It was only given once again in Philadelphia and that was in the next season, November 13, 1767.

An interesting event in the history of the American Theatre, although not germane to the subject, was the production of the first play by a native on April 24, 1767.

This was *The Prince of Parthia*, a tragedy in verse by a young Philadelphian, Thomas Godfrey (1736-63). He had sent it to Douglas in the autumn of 1759, but the latter saw that it had no chance for success on the stage and only produced it after the poet's early death by the solicitation of his friends, who had published it with other of his poems in 1765. Although Hallam, Mr. and Mrs. Douglas, and Miss Cheer acted in it, one night sufficed to satisfy the playgoing public's interest, but as the first play written by an American and actually produced, it appeals to the historian if to no one else.

In the autumn of 1767 the American Company returned to the Southwark and on October 26th again presented *Love in a Village*, and *The Chaplet* on November 13th. They left after November 23rd and did not appear again until October 1768 when Miss Wainwright was not with them. The record of this season, which ended January 6, 1769, is very defective but it indicates that no ballad operas were given.

A long season began on November 8, 1769, and lasted until June 1, 1770. The former operas were repeated:—*Love in a Village* and *The Beggar's Opera* in December 1769, Lewis Hallam being *Captain Macheath*; *Damon and Philida* on February 9, 1770; and for Mrs. Harman's benefit on April 16, 1770, *Thomas and Sally*. On January 6, 1770, a new ballad opera, which was to become most popular, was given for the first time. This was *The Maid of the Mill*, the book by the prolific Isaac Bickerstaffe based upon Richardson's novel *Pamela* and the music by Samuel Arnold (1740-1802). It had been produced at Covent Garden Theatre, January 31, 1765; it ran for twenty-nine nights and was frequently revived. Beard

and Miss Brent were in the leading parts. Unfortunately there is no record of the cast of the American Company.

This opera was one of the first, since the time of Purcell, in which concerted music was used to carry on the business of the stage. The composer had reached the age of twenty-three years in the previous August. He had belonged to the "Children of the Chapel Royal" and had been trained by Gates, who held the office of Master.*

The high-light of this season, 1769-70, was the first performance of the most popular entertainment with songs of the 18th Century in Pennsylvania. This was not a ballad opera but is designated as "a musical farce": *The Padlock*. It was written by Bickerstaffe with music by Charles Dibdin. On its first appearance at Drury Lane in 1768 it ran for fifty-three nights. *Mungo* was a part which Hallam made most effective and its realism was attributed to his study of the negro character and dialect in Jamaica. It was given in the Colonies for the first time at the John Street Theatre, May 29, 1768, and at the Southwark for the first time on its opening night of the season, November 8, 1769. Its constant repetitions will not be recorded as they are not germane to the present subject, but it was probably played oftener in the theatres here than any other piece.

The American Company came to the Southwark on October 28, 1772, and played there until the last day of March 1773. *Love in a Village* was given on November 4th and *The Maid of the Mill* on the 25th of that month and on December 14th, for the first time, *Lionel and Clarissa*, a comic opera composed by Charles Dibdin (1748-1814), with libretto by Bickerstaffe. It had been

* *Annals of Covent Garden Theatre*, vol. i, pp. 156-157.

first produced in March 1768, at Covent Garden, with Mrs. Baddeley as *Clarissa*. In Philadelphia Mrs. Harman, Douglas, Henry * and Ann Storer, known as his wife, and the youthful Sarah Hallam, a cousin of Lewis Hallam and then the leading lady, were in the cast with Stephen Woolls as *Lionel* and Maria Storer as *Clarissa*.

Lionel and Clarissa was repeated on January 4, 1773. On February 15th *The Beggar's Opera* was presented with Hallam as *Macheath*; Douglas *Peachum*; Maria Storer *Lucy*; Mrs. Morris *Mrs. Peachum*; and Sarah Hallam *Polly*.

In November, 1773, the company returned for two weeks to the Southwark, *Lionel and Clarissa* being repeated on November 1st. On November 15th, the last performance of the American Company took place, and the curtain fell forever upon Douglas in the theatre he had created seven years before.

On the 24th of October, 1774, the new Continental Congress, assembled in Carpenter's Hall, passed a resolution recommending a suspension of all amusements, which Pennsylvania approved by law, thus putting to an end the first epoch of the American stage. It was with singular appropriateness that in the same year the lady died who had crossed the Atlantic in 1752 as the wife of the elder Hallam, become the first actress of eminence in

* John Henry was a handsome man and a good actor. He had appeared on the stage in Dublin and London before coming to America in 1767. His relation with the Storer sisters whom he had met in Jamaica is remarkable. He married while there the eldest, who was lost at sea on their voyage from Jamaica. He then lived for a number of years with Ann, who was billed as Mrs. Henry. When she left him to marry an actor named John Hogg, Maria Storer, the youngest sister, took her place. She was on the stage when a child, possessed much versatile talent and, according to William B. Wood, was "a perfect fairy in person."—*Personal Recollections of the Stage*, p. 25.

"MUNGO'S SONG" IN *The Padlock*

From a copy (London, Longman & Broderip, 17—) in the Library of Congress.

The Black Man's Burial.

Vocal Part:

I with to my Heart I was dead, what care to be done, what care to be done poor Black man run,
 Mungo here Mungo there Mungo every where, a-bow and he low Birch
 Come Birch go, a-bow and he low do for, Oh! Oh! what a terrible life am I led! Oh! Oh! Oh!
 Let: Night and Day tis the same my Pain is there gone, Night and Day tis the same, my Pain is there! dead!
 dead! I with to my Heart I was dead! dead! I with to my Heart I was dead!

Piano Part:

Black man run,
 Mungo here Mungo there Mungo every where, a-bow and he low Birch
 Come Birch go, a-bow and he low do for, Oh! Oh! what a terrible life am I led! Oh! Oh! Oh!
 Let: Night and Day tis the same my Pain is there gone, Night and Day tis the same, my Pain is there! dead!
 dead! I with to my Heart I was dead! dead! I with to my Heart I was dead!

interest in the theatre as a painter of scenery and of a new stage curtain. One of his scenes was especially praised, a beautifully colored landscape of hills and fields with a stream and small water fall in correct perspective.*

AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Upon the approach of peace, the players, who had turned for a livelihood to London and Jamaica, began to return to the new Republic. But the law against stage entertainments which the legislature of Pennsylvania had passed in 1779 was still in force and until its repeal they had to act elsewhere, although for brief periods they were at the Southwark giving under the guise of *Lectures* and *Concerts* scenes from plays and ballad operas.

A number of appeals were made to the legislature to end the prohibition and finally on March 3, 1789, the law was repealed as to the city of Philadelphia "or within one mile thereof."

Lewis Hallam seized the happy occasion to open the Southwark on March 9th, playing *The Roman Father*. John Durang danced a hornpipe, the first time the name appears of that versatile comedian to whom theatre enthusiasts are indebted for his records of the local stage. Besides Hallam, John Henry was back with the new Mrs. Henry (Maria Storer); Mr. and Mrs. Owen Morris; Woolls; and for the first time, Tom Wignell, who was to become an important factor in Philadelphia's stage history, and Miss Eliza Tuke, who was to marry Hallam.

During this brief season, for the first time in Philadelphia, the after-piece on March 13th was *The Poor Soldier*, which was repeated on April 3rd, the cast being:

* A charming drawing by him of the house in Lancaster where he was on parole as a prisoner during 1776 is among the collections of the Historical Society.

(OVERTURE to the POOR SOLDIER)
for the
HARPSICORD or PIANO-FORTE.

1

W. Shield

Volte Subito

From a copy (London, J. Bland, 1783) in the Library of Congress.

Patrick	Henry
Captain Fitzroy	Harper
Dermot	Woolls
Darby	Wignell
Norah	Miss Tuke
Kathleen	Mrs. Morris

The Poor Soldier became very popular and belongs to history as being a favorite of the great Washington. It was first produced in 1783 at Covent Garden, and was based on a farce by John O'Keefe (1747-1833), author of many pieces for the stage including the successful comedy *Wild Oats*, and was set to music by the composer William Shield (1748-1829). The famous English tenor, Charles Incledon, made his first appearance at Covent Garden as *Dermot* on January 20, 1790.

The season of 1790 began on January 6th with *The Rivals* and Sheridan's *The Critic* for the first time. On February 10th, *Love in a Village* was revived, and on June 7th *The Maid of the Mill* for Mrs. Henry's benefit, but unfortunately there is no record of the casts. *The Poor Soldier* was repeated on March 1st.

On March 17, 1790, the operetta *Inkle and Yarico* by George Colman the Younger was first presented at the Southwark, with John Harper and Eliza Tuke in the title parts. Its first performance in America was on July 6, 1789, at the John Street Theatre. It had been written by Colman for the Haymarket Theatre, of which his father was then proprietor or patentee, and produced there August 4, 1787.

For Stephen Woolls' benefit on June 17, 1790, Richard Brinley Sheridan's opera *The Duenna* was presented with Woolls as *Antonio* and Maria Storer (Mrs. Henry) as *Clara*. Henry and Harper were also in the cast. It had been first produced on November 21, 1775,

at Covent Garden Theatre; it ran seventy-five nights and retained its popularity for fifty years. Sheridan's father-in-law, Thomas Linley (1732-95), composed the charming music.

The previous operettas by O'Hara, Bickerstaffe, and others had been a tinkling farrago of dull dialogue and forced songs. *The Duenna*, on the other hand, was a coherent whole, and the songs which Sheridan introduced in it were, many of them, his own lovely lyrics fraught with the romance and passion of his courtship and alive with that personal experience which alone enabled him to strike the lyre.*

The theatre closed on July 19th with the acting of *The Merchant of Venice*. It was opened again on December 8, 1790, by the American Company, which played until July 11, 1791. Philadelphia was now the capital of the infant United States and President Washington was in residence in the spacious brick house on the south side of Market Street east of 6th Street, where he lived for over six years.

The theatre had been refurbished and the east stage box prepared for the President with red drapery and the U. S. coat of arms in colors on its front. When he arrived at the theatre Wignell, in full dress with his hair powdered and holding two lighted silver candlesticks would escort the President's party to their chairs. On January 5, 1791, the President saw *The School for Scandal* and his favorite *Poor Soldier* with the Vice-President and Mrs. Adams as his guests. Wignell was *Joseph Surface*, Harper *Charles*, Morris *Sir Oliver*, Henry *Sir Peter Teazle*, and Mrs. Morris *Lady Teazle*. Wignell also played *Darby* in the *Poor Soldier*. As Mrs. Adams

* *Sheridan* by Walter Sickel, v. i, 505.

had recently returned from London, where Adams was the United States Minister, and had frequented the theatres, her opinion has some value. She writes to her daughter:

The house is equal to most of the theatres we meet with out of France. It is very neatly and prettily fitted up. *The School for Scandal* was the play. I missed the divine Farren but on the whole it was very well performed.

President Washington was again at the Southwark on February 2nd, when he saw Shakespeare's *The Tempest* in which Maria Storer's *Ariel* received much praise.

During this long season a new musical afterpiece was produced on June 13th and repeated three nights later. Woolls had the principal part. The piece was entitled *Rival Candidates* and the music was written by Bate. It had been originally given at Drury Lane. On Miss Tuke's night, June 23rd, Colman's *Inkle and Yarico* was on the bill. The city had one of its customary "hot spells" that month and the fire engines played on the walls and roof of the theatre to cool it off for the evenings.

The American Company did not return until May 28, 1792, when they had the honor of Washington's presence on June 5th, at Farquhar's amusing comedy *The Beaux Stratagem*, which was acted by Harper, Hallam, Henry, Mrs. Henry and Miss Tuke. Its first performance in America was at this theatre on February 13, 1778, by the officers of the British Army then occupying Philadelphia. The afterpiece was a pantomime by the Placides. The popular ballad operas *The Maid of the Mill* and *Love in a Village* were repeated, the former on June 18th, and the latter on the 25th of the same month, and on June 27th, Colman's *Inkle and Yarico* was given.

Parnassiad. 383

AIR in *The RECONCILIATION* ;

A Comic Opera, by Peter Markoe.

Truth from thy radiant throne look down On man's be-

wil-der'd race; Teach us how'er mis-fortune frown,

That want is no dis-grace. That want


is no dis-grace. Teach us since guilt is lone

is woe, To smile at weak distress. The Pow'r who man

THE ONLY PUBLISHED MUSIC FROM

Accepted in 1790 for performance at the Southwark, this early opera by a Philadelphian for some reason never reached the boards.

384 *Parnassiad.*



afflicts below, is prompt a—bove to ble—ss

is prompt a—bove to blefs.

=====

AIR in the RECONCILIATION, a Comic Opera, by
PETER MARKOE.

Tune, *The Birds of Indermay.*

WHY sleeps the thunder in the lines,
When guilty men to *grandeur* rise!—
Or why should innocence bewail
Distress, in bleak misfortune's vale!
Just are the dark decrees of heaven,
Since short the date to either given:
Vice earns unceasing dread and shame,
Whilst endless joys are virtue's claim.

=====

ANOTHER FROM THE SAME.

Tune, *The Bird that hears, &c.*

THE birds, who wing their way through air,
Are objects of his love:
The wolf's fierce young he tends with care:
His boomy reptiles prove.

Much more to thee, desponding man!
He kindness shall display:
Can we then doubt his glorious plan?
For are we less than they?

PETER MARKOE'S *The Reconciliation*

The reproduction is from a copy (in the Library of Congress) of the *Universal Asylum* (Philadelphia) for June 1790. No other edition of any of the music is known.

The season ended on July 2nd. It has an interest in stage history because of the engagement of Alexander Placide and Madame Placide as dancers and pantomimists, a couple newly arrived from Europe. His descendants by his subsequent alliance with Caroline Wrighten became prominent players in all American theatres in the nineteenth century.

The Company came back on September 26, 1792, with the newly arrived John Hodgkinson (1767-1805) from the Bath Theatre, who was to become the leading actor of the New York stage until his death by yellow fever at the early age of thirty-eight. He made his debut in America on the opening night of the season as *Don Felix* in *The Wonder*, which was a favorite role of David Garrick and the one he chose to act on his farewell to the stage on June 10, 1776. The newcomer was an actor of remarkable versatility, being brilliant in comedy, ballad operas and in the great tragic roles.* He acted this season *Richard III*, *Othello*, and *Hamlet*, Hallam, who was getting old and careless, giving up to him his former parts. They both, however, were with Henry on December 10th in Holcraft's *The Road to Ruin* for its first performance on this continent, where it held the stage for a hundred years.

On October 5, 1792, Mrs. Pownall, a leading London singer, made her debut in America as *Cherry* in *The Beaux Stratagem*, and on October 10th she sang in the popular opera, *Love in a Village*. On October 15th, and again on the 17th, she appeared in *The Maid of the Mill*. The cast of the latter was:

Aimworth	Hodgkinson
Giles	Woolls

* *Retrospections of the Stage*, by John Bernard, Chapter XI.

Ralph	Hallam
Lady Sycamore	Mrs. Hamilton
Fanny	Mrs. Kenna
Theodosia	Miss Tuke
Patty	Mrs. Pownall

Love in a Village was repeated November 9th with Hallam as *Hodge*, Mrs. Pownall as *Madge*, and Mrs. Hodgkinson as *Rosetta*.

On November 14th President Washington saw *The Maid of the Mill* followed by *The Romp*, in which Mrs. Hodgkinson acted the *Tomboy* with great success. The advertisement of that night in the *Pennsylvania Journal* is typical of that time:

By Authority
By the Old American Company,
At the Theatre in South-wark,
This Evening, November 14,
Will be presented (by particular desire) a Comic Opera
called, The Maid of the Mill

To which will be added, a Musical Farce, called,
The Romp

Or, A Cure for the Spleen.

Places in the Boxes may be had at the box office next door to the Theatre, from ten to one every day, Sundays excepted, and on the days of performance from three to five,

P.M. where
also Tickets may be had, and at Bradford's book-store.

The proprietors respectfully request that their friends and patrons will supply themselves with Tickets, as the door-keepers are in the most particular manner prohibited from receiving money. Boxes seven shillings and six pence; Pitt five shillings; Gallery, three shillings and six pence.

The *Federal Gazette* of November 17, 1792, in its article on the plays given, declared that:

When Mr. Hodgkinson as Lord Aimworth exhibited nobleness of mind in his generosity to the humble miller and his daughter, Patty [i. e., Mrs. Pownall]; when he found her blessed with all the qualities that captivate and endear life, and knew that she was capable of adorning a higher sphere; when he had interviews with her upon the subject in which was painted the amiableness of an honorable passion; and after his connection, when he bestowed his benefactions on the relatives, etc., of the old miller, the great and good Washington manifested his approbation of this interesting part of the opera by the tribute of a tear. Nor was his approbation withheld in the afterpiece, when Mrs. Hodgkinson as Priscilla Tomboy and Mr. Prigmore as young Cockney played truly up to nature. The humorous scenes unfolded in this piece, being acted to the life, received the approving smiles of our President, whose plaudits they have studiously endeavored and, we hope, will endeavor, to merit.*

On November 16, 1792, another opera of Shield's, *The Farmer*, was produced, its book being by O'Keefe. The cast was:—

Farmer Blackberry Mr. King..	Rundy	Mr. Martin
Valentine	Mr. West	Stubble
Fairly	Mr. Heard	Louisa
Col. Dorimont	Mr. Ashton	Molly
Jemmy Jumps	Mr. Chambers	Betty Blackberry ..
Flummery	Mr. Ryan	Landlady
		Mrs. Rankin

Prince Hoare's musical farce *No Song No Supper* was given for the first time on November 30, 1792, with Hodgkinson's fine voice as *Robin*, his wife as *Margareta*, and Mrs. Pownal as *Dorothy*; it proved very popular,

* Quoted by Seilhamer, *op. cit.*, iii, 60.

being repeated often. It had been first acted at Drury Lane two years before.

On December 3rd *The Poor Soldier* was seen with Hodgkinson in Henry's former part of *Patrick*, Prigmore as *Darby*, Wignell having left the company, Mrs. Pownall as *Norah*, and Mrs. Hodgkinson as *Kathleen*. The season closed on January 12, 1793.

The singing strength of the company was much improved by the new recruits, the Hodgkinsons and Mary Ann Pownall. The latter had married James Wrighten, then a strolling player, who afterwards for many years was the prompter at Drury Lane Theatre. He trained her for the stage and she was only fifteen when she made her debut in Garrick's Company at Drury Lane, February 8, 1770, as *Diana* in *Lionel and Clarissa*. Having an excellent voice and being a skillful actress, she soon became popular. *Polly Peachum* was one of her best parts, as were *Margery* in *Love in a Village* and *Fanny* in *Maid of the Mill*. In the summer months she sang at Vauxhall with great success for many years. "As a singer she was surpassed only by Mrs. Billington and Miss George, better known as Mrs. Oldmixon, and her comic powers were remarkable." In 1787, she left Wrighten for a man named Pownall and, adopting his name, brought him with her to America. When Wrighten died in April 1793, their daughters Mary and Caroline joined her in the United States. Subsequently they assisted in her concerts, the girls singing and playing the pianoforte. They were in Charleston during the winter of 1795-96, and Caroline made her first appearance on the stage at Solee's Theatre. Alexander Placide, the French dancer, who had appeared with Madam Placide in 1792 at the Southwark, was in the city. On the first of August 1796, Caroline

Wrighten eloped with him. This so distressed Mrs. Pownall that she advertised the postponement of her concert, which was to take place on the 4th. A week later she died, the cause being attributed to the shock of her daughter's conduct. She was only in her fortieth year.

THE NEW THEATRE

The supremacy of the Southwark as the best theatre on the continent was now approaching its end. The increase of wealth and population had added to the number of playgoers, who were dissatisfied with its location and lack of size and had become tired of seeing Hallam and Henry, who were ageing and gouty and often failed to appear on the nights advertised.

Over fifty thousand persons now lived in the old city, and the shipping merchants were amassing fortunes from trade with all parts of the world. Land speculation was rife and general prosperity had returned with the establishment of a strong and wise national government.

As early as May 1791, meetings were called in the City Tavern to advocate a new theatre. A paper was drawn up for subscriptions at three hundred dollars a share to supply capital for a new building. By June 2, 1792, a hundred shares were subscribed for.* A committee appointed by the subscribers engaged Thomas Wignell as manager of the new playhouse and sent him to England to obtain a company. Alexander Reinagle (1756-1809) was secured as the musical director.

Reinagle had been born in Portsmouth, England, the son of an Austrian musician. He displayed precocious talents for music and while still a lad composed for the

*The original subscription paper is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

piano and became not only a singer but also an expert 'cellist and pianist. In 1786 he arrived in New York City, where he gave a concert on August 20th. Later in that year he came to Philadelphia, and from then until 1794 he arranged every season in that city a series of subscription concerts at which he frequently played piano sonatas of his own composition. Four of these sonatas in mss. are in the Library of Congress. "They are the finest surviving American instrumental productions of the Eighteenth Century." After assuming the musical department of the new theatre, which he managed until his death in 1809, he showed great skill in adapting the ballad operas for Philadelphia audiences and improving them with original compositions of his own.

The Committee purchased ground on the north side of Chestnut Street, next to the house on the northwest corner of 6th Street, across from the House of Congress, ninety feet in width on Chestnut Street and one hundred and thirty-four feet in depth to Ludlow Street. On this was erected a duplicate of the Royal Theatre at Bath, the architectural plans being sent here by Wignell. It was built of brick with marble trimmings and stood back from the sidewalk with a colonnade in front. The width of the stage was thirty-six feet with a depth of seventy-one feet. Two tiers of boxes surrounded the pit. Above them was a large gallery. There were two thousand seats, nine hundred being in the boxes. The theatre was lighted by a number of large chandeliers with candles, while the stoves were fed with oak. It was the first theatre in America to equal the best in England.

The theatre was nearly completed when it was opened to the public on February 2, 1793, with a concert and new overture composed by Reinagle. The audience,

crowding the utmost capacity of the theatre, listened to the following

PROGRAM.

Act I.

New Overture Mr. Reinagle
 Song. "On by the Spur of Valor" Mr. Chambers
 Concerto—Violin Mr. Boulay
 Song. "Kiss me now or never" Mrs. Morris
 Quartette. "Despeti avis"
 Messrs. Pettit, Boulay, Mallet and Reinagle
 Song. "Poor Tom Bowling" Mr. Harper
 Symphonia Mr. Kozeluch
 Glee. "Sigh no more, Ladies"
 Messrs. Chambers, Harper and Reinagle

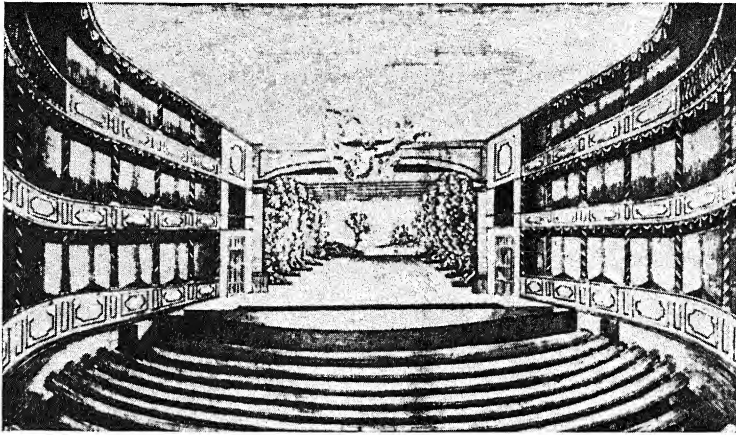
Act II.

Grand Overture Haydn
 Italian Song Mr. Mallet
 Sonata—Pianoforte Mr. Guenin
 Song. "My Poll and Partner Joe" Mr. Harper
 Sonata—Harp Mr. Saloman
 Song. "A Smile from the Girl of my Heart" .. Mr. Chambers
 Symphonia Concertant Messrs. Pettit and Boulay

Act III.

Symphony Stamitz
 Song. "Blithe Colin" Mrs. Morris
 Concerto—Violin Mr. Pettit
 Song. "Cottage Boy" Mr. Chambers
 Glee. "How Merrily We Live"
 Messrs. Chambers, Harper and Reinagle
 Dancing by Master Duport in the character of Harle-
 quin and in the dance, "Le Noble, or Henry IV".

This concert was repeated on the 4th and 7th of February, after which the New Theatre was closed for a year while awaiting the arrival of the new company. During this interval new scenery and a beautiful curtain arrived from London painted by John Inigo Richards, member of the Royal Academy, who was brother-in-law of Wignell



INTERIOR OF THE CHESTNUT STREET THEATRE

From an unidentified engraving in the *New York Magazine*, April 1794, p. 195.

and the best scenery painter in England, being long employed at Covent Garden.

The American Company returned to the Southwark for July and August 1793. On the 3rd of July they gave *The Maid of the Mill* and on the 27th revived *Lionel and Clarissa*, after twenty years, with the new vocalists in the old players' parts. It was repeated on August 5th and 12th and on the 23rd the season ended with Mrs. Pownall's benefit, the after-piece being *No Song No Supper*. The commencement of an epidemic of yellow fever hastened the closing.

On July 15, 1793, Wignell returned from London with fifty-six actors, actresses, singers and dancers whom he had engaged, and a few weeks later his ship arrived in the Delaware. As the yellow fever was then raging in Philadelphia they disembarked at Gloucester and were placed at various farmers' houses in New Jersey where

they remained until the end of December. During January 1794 some of the company with Wignell acted at the theatre in Annapolis. By then the plague had ended and they came to Philadelphia.

On the night of Monday, the 17th of February, 1794, a greater crowd than there was room for jostled about the doors to gain admission to the New Theatre. The first piece to be given on its stage was the comic opera, *The Castle of Andalusia*, the book by O'Keefe and the music by Samuel Arnold (1740-1802), the composer of *The Maid of the Mill*. Of course Reinagle conducted the large orchestra. The beautiful and elaborate scenery was that which had been painted by Richards for the original production at Covent Garden. The cast was:

Don Scipio	Mr. Finch	Phillipo	Mr. Darley, Jun.
Don Caesar	Mr. Darley	Banditti	Messrs. Harwood,
Don Fernanda	Mr. Marshall		Francis, Cleveland, Warrell,
Don Juan	Mr. Morris		Blisset, etc., etc.
Don Alphonso	Mr. Moreton	Victoria	Mrs. Warrell
Pedrillo	Mr. Bates	Lorenza	Mrs. Marshall
Spado	Mr. Wignell	Isabella	Mrs. Bates
Sanguino	Mr. Green	Catalina	Miss Broadhurst

The after-piece was Mrs. Cowley's farce *Who's the Dupe*, acted by Morris, Moreton, Harwood, Mrs. Francis and Mrs. Rowson.

Wignell had reserved his heavy batteries for the next production on the 19th, when Southerne's tragedy of *Isabella* was acted by Fennell and the Whitlocks. All members of the company were new to the city except Morris and Wignell. Until July 18th, they played every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday; the prices of seats being one dollar in a box; seventy-five cents in the pit; fifty cents in the gallery. The doors were opened at five o'clock and the performance began at six. Eight plays

by Shakespeare were acted, including *As You Like It* for the first time with Mrs. Marshall as *Rosalind*, as well as *Macbeth* with Fennell in the name role and Mrs. Whitlock as his temptress.

For the musical staff Wignell secured one of the most popular singers in Great Britain, Mrs. Oldmixon (Miss George), who was a daughter of a clergyman at Oxford and after singing in concerts appeared at the Haymarket in 1783. She was engaged as the chief vocalist at Drury Lane. She married Sir John Oldmixon, much older than herself, who was a grandson of the Oldmixon referred to by Pope in his *Dunciad*. He came here with her and they remained until their deaths.

During this season a number of operas were given and there was much music in pantomimes and dances, the latter devised by William Francis, many years a Philadelphia favorite. He had been a Harlequin in England and was noted for arranging dances.* Reinagle wrote and arranged considerable music for these entertainments and composed new songs with added incidental music to many of the productions.

Love in a Village was presented on February 26, with John Darley as *Hawthorne*, Francis as *Hodge*, and Mrs. Marshall as *Rosetta*, being repeated on March 29th. Darley was one of the best London vocalists, a large man whose resemblance to Henry VIII was striking. For the previous ten years he had been a great favorite at Covent Garden and in the summer at Vauxhall. He brought with him his son John, who became a celebrated actor on the American stage. After the opera, Francis presented one of his dances, entitled *The Caledonian Frolic*. On March 3rd, *The Poor Soldier* was given with Wignell in

* See page 518 of this volume.

his old part of *Darby* and young John Darley, although a boy, playing *Dermot*.

President Washington and his lady honored the New Theatre on March 5th, and it is certain that Manager Wignell proudly escorted them with his silver candelabra to the Presidential box. They saw Fennell and Mr. and Mrs. Whitlock in *The Carmelite*, a dreary tragedy by Richard Cumberland (1732-1811), as well as Mrs. Marshall in *The Spoilt Child* by Bickerstaff, then given for the first time in Philadelphia and frequently repeated.

On March 10th, the light opera *Robin Hood* was presented for the first time; its music by Shield and its libretto by Macnally, an Irish lawyer, it was repeated on March 14th. The cast was:

Robin Hood	Mr. Darley	Rutlekin	Mr. Bates
Little John	Mr. Wignell	Friar Tuck	Mr. Whitlock
Scarlet	Mr. Francis	Edwin	Mr. Marshall
Bowman	Mr. Warrell	Clorinda	Mrs. Warrell
Allan-a-Dale	Mr. Darley, Jr.	Annette	Mrs. Marshall
Stella	Miss Williams	Angelina	Miss Broadhurst
Archers,.....	Messrs. Blissett, Warrell Jun., DeMoulin, Lee, Bacon, etc.		

Shield's *The Farmer* was played March 12th, and repeated March 28th, as an after-piece to *Douglas*; the earlier performance was witnessed by President Washington and a party, for whom he notes in his diary he "paid eight dollars" for the side box. The cast was:

Colonel Dormant	Mr. Green	Rundy	Mr. Francis
Valentine	Mrs. Marshall	Farmer Stubble	Mr. Morris
Fairly	Mr. Warrell	Louisa	Mrs. Warrell
Flummery	Mr. Blissett	Betty Blackberry ..	Mrs. Rowson
Farmer Blackberry ..	Mr. Darley	Mollie Maybush	Miss Broadhurst
Jemmy Jumps	Mr. Bates	Landlady	Mrs. Bates

On May 14, 1794, the famous Mrs. Oldmixon made her debut as *Clorinda* in *Robin Hood*, the part previously

sung by Mrs. Warrell. On the next play night, the 16th, she sang *Fanny* in *The Maid of the Mill*, its first production at the New Theatre, with this cast:

Lord Aimworth ... Mr. Marshall	Ralph Mr. Wignell
Sir Harry Sycamore .. Mr. Bates	Lady Sycamore Mrs. Shaw
Mervin Mr. Cleveland	Theodosia Miss Williams
Fairfield Mr. Whitlock	Patty Mrs. Warrell
Giles Mr. Darley	Fanny Mrs. Oldmixon

On May 23rd Sheridan's *The Duenna* was given and on the 26th, for the first time, Hoare's musical farce *The Prize*, in which Mrs. Oldmixon played *Caroline*.

For Mrs. Warrell's benefit, June 2nd, *Lionel and Clarissa* was heard with Mrs. Oldmixon as *Diana*, and on June 18th, for the first time here, was produced one of Shield's operas, *The Woodman*, in which she sang *Dolly*. Its first presentation, February 26, 1790, was at Covent Garden.

Mrs. Oldmixon, on her benefit night, July 7th, produced for the first time in America the adaptation of Beaumarchais' comedy of *The Barber of Seville* by George Colman, with the title of *The Spanish Barber*. The cast was:

Count Almavia Mr. Moreton	Notary Mr. Warrell
Dr. Bartholo Mr. Green	Tallboy Mr. Francis
Bazil Mr. Darley	Augus Mr. Blissett
Lazarillo Mr. Bates	Rosina Mrs. Oldmixon
Alcaide Mr. Darley, Jr.	

On the last night of the most brilliant season the American stage had known, July 10, 1794, the box office receipts were donated for the establishment of a fund for "aged and infirm actors."

In the autumn, while the Philadelphia Company was at the newly built theatre on Holiday Street in Balti-

more, the old American Company of Hallam, now with Hodgkinson as a partner, and without the Henrys, opened the Southwark on September 22, 1794. During this season, which ended December 4th, they repeated the musical pieces of *Love in a Village*, *The Padlock*, *Robin Hood*, *The Beggar's Opera* and *No Song No Supper*. Three afterpieces enlivened by Charles Dibdin's songs, which had not been heard before, were *The Quaker*, October 6th, *The Fatal Deception*, October 29th, and *The Wedding Ring*, November 12th.

On November 24th was produced for the first time here a musical farce which became very popular entitled *The Children in the Wood*, written by Thomas Morton, with music by Arnold. The Hodgkinsons were in the principal parts. It had been a great success when first produced in 1793, at the Haymarket, London.

A more ambitious undertaking was Hodgkinson's production, *The Haunted Tower*, presented for the first time in America on December 2nd. It is perhaps the first attempt at grand opera by an English librettist, James Cobb (1756-1818), and its composer, Stephen Storace. Instead of the customary airs and duets being detached from the dialogue, as in the ballad operas and musical farces, the story is told in continuous music. Stephen Storace was the son of an Italian musician who had settled in London where both he and his sister Anna were born. She was the principal soprano of her time. *The Haunted Tower* was first produced in 1789, at Drury Lane, where it was most successful.

The Young Quaker, a comedy by O'Keefe, was selected as the last play of the season, presumably because it presented all the principal members of the company, its cast being as follows:

Young Sadboy .. Mr. Hodgkinson	Twig Mr. Durang
Chronicle Mr. Prigmore	Goliah Miss Hatton
Clod Mr. Hallam	Spatterdark Mr. King
Capt. Ambush Mr. Martin	Araminta Mrs. Hodgkinson
Shadrack Boaz ... Mr. Hammond	Pink Mrs. Pownall
(for that night only)	Lady Rounceval Mrs. Miller
Old Sadboy Mr. Richards	Mrs. Millefleur ... Mrs. Hamilton
Malachi Mr. Woolls	Judith Mrs. King
Lounge Mr. Munto	Dinah Primrose Mrs. Hallam

It was followed by a ballet and *The Children in the Wood*.

This was the last time Hallam acted in Philadelphia, where he had first appeared as a boy with his parents at Mayor Plumsted's Theatre in 1754. On the stage of the Southwark, built by his step-father, he had been supreme since its opening night, November 14, 1766. His farewell was honored by President Washington, who sat for the last time in the box decorated with the arms of the nation he had done so much to create. Lewis Hallam lived until November 1, 1808. He died, aged sixty-eight, at No. 410 South 5th Street, and was buried in St. Peter's Churchyard, where lie his early associates, Mr. and Mrs. Owen Morris.

THE LAST HALF-DECADE

The New Theatre opened its second season on December 3, 1794, and continued until the 4th of July, 1795. The first opera was the familiar *Lionel and Clarissa* on December 15th, with the same principals as the previous season, and the next was the always popular *The Maid of the Mill* on the 19th, Mrs. Oldmixon being in both. On January 3, 1795, *The Spanish Barber* was again presented, as was *The Castle of Andalusia* on the 10th, and *Inkle and Yarico* on the 17th, with Mr. and Mrs. Marshall in the title roles.

On February 18, 1795, the Philadelphia Company stole Hodgkinson's thunder and produced *The Haunted Tower*, which was repeated on the 25th, with this cast:—

Lord William	Mr. Marshall	DeCourcy	Mr. Cleveland
Baron of Oakland..	Mr. Harwood	Martin	Mr. Warrell
Edward	Mr. Francis	Hubert	Mr. Mitchell
Lewis	Mr. Blissett	Lady Elinor	Mrs. Warrell
Robert	Mr. Darley, Jr.	Adela	Mrs. Oldmixon
Charles	Mr. Darley	Cicely	Miss Broadhurst
Hugo	Mr. Green	Maud	Mrs. Bates

On March 2, 1795, *Lionel and Clarissa* was sung again and on the 9th *The Haunted Tower* was repeated. Wignell appeared as *Darby* in *The Poor Soldier* on the 11th with young Darley as *Dermot* and Miss Broadhurst as *Norah*. On the 18th, *The Children of the Wood* was given, with the Marshalls, Harwood, Moreton, and Mrs. Soloman and daughter, the latter making her first appearance on the stage. It was repeated on the 20th, the 25th, April 15th, and June 10th. On April 1st was sung *Love in a Village*; the next night, *The Haunted Tower*. On May 4th, for the first time here, a little musical after-piece, *Auld Robin Gray*, was given with music by Arnold, with Mr. and Mrs. Marshall. On May 27th, *The Duenna* with Mrs. Warrell as *Clara* was repeated.

Mrs. Marshall, on June 3rd, appeared in the short breeches of *Sir Harry Wildair*, Peg Woffington's famous part, in *The Constant Couple*, Mrs. Hervey, fresh from the Haymarket Theatre, being *Angelica*, and Mrs. Francis *Lurewell*. No doubt Mrs. Marshall sang with spirit the gay airs in Farquhar's old comedy, which had been mounted for the first time in America on December 19, 1766, at the Southwark, with Hallam as *Sir Harry*, Mrs. Douglas as *Lurewell*, and Miss Cheer as *Angelica*.

On June 8th, the perennial *The Beggar's Opera* was sung with Marshall as *Macheath* and Miss Broadhurst as *Polly*. The season came to a close on July 4, 1795.

The New Theatre re-opened on December 14, 1795. *The Children in the Wood* was the afterpiece on December 18th, and was repeated February 10th and June 13, 1796. *The Haunted Tower* was sung on December 28th, and on January 11, 1796, *The Poor Soldier* was given, with Wignell as *Darby*, young Darley as *Dermot* and Mrs. Warrell as *Norah*. On January 25th, *Robin Hood* was revived, and on February 19th, *The Castle of Andalusia*.

Early in February 1796, General Anthony Wayne returned from his conquest of the Indians in the Northwest, and Managers Wignell and Reinagle advertised a gala performance in his honor for February 10th, when the theatre was packed to see the victorious soldier and a new ballet devised by Francis, *The Warrior's Welcome Home*. Also given were Colley Cibber's *The Provoked Husband* (by Whitlock, Mr. and Mrs. Owen Morris, Marshall and Mrs. Shaw), and *The Children of the Wood*, which must have made a long evening.

The President and Mrs. Washington, with the Vice-President and Mrs. Adams, and Mr. and Mrs. George Steptoe Washington occupied a box on February 29th, to see *The Rage*, a comedy by Frederick Reynolds, in which Wignell, Moreton, Harwood, Mrs. Hervey and Mrs. Whitlock acted. It was followed by *The Spoilt Child*, with Mrs. Marshall as *Little Pickle*.

Inkle and Yarico was revived on March 16th, with the Marshalls in the title parts, and on the 23rd, *The Duenna* with Mrs. Oldmixon as *Clara*. The latter sang in *No Song No Supper*, April 4th, and in *The Maid of the*

(32)

WHY HUNTRESS WHY

Sung by M^r F. Carr the opera of the Archers at the New York Theatre and by M^r John
Darley at the Philadelphia Philadelphia Composed by B. Carr

Published at the request of several Subscribers

Andantino

why Huntress why wilt thou thy life expose to va - lued by thy

friends to va - lued by thy friends to valued by thy

friends why Huntress why wilt thou thy life expose to va -

A SONG FROM *The Archers*

Unlike Peter Markoe's *The Reconciliation*, Carr's *The Archers* was performed (1796) at both Philadelphia and New York, thereby becoming one of the earliest successful operatic ventures by an American composer.

(33)

...lued by thy friends If thou shouldst
fall the death of all our foes If thou shouldst fall the death of all our foes can
never make a mend then hunters why wilt thou let it expose.

And think what pangs thy Father still must feel
What pangs must Arnold know
When thou'rt expos'd unto the biting steel
Shall ruth avail the foe
Then hunters why &c

BY BENJAMIN CARR

The reproduction is from a copy in the Library of Congress of Carr's *Musical Journal for the Pianoforte*, Philadelphia, 1801, No. 39.

Mill on April 15th. At her benefit night, May 20th, she produced a new operetta, by James Cobb, *The Doctor and the Apothecary*, with music by Stephen Storace, which had been successful at Drury Lane.

Before the season ended, July 1, 1796, Wignell left again for England to engage new members to reinforce his company. He returned with Mrs. Merry and Thomas A. Cooper, probably the best players to appear in America in the 18th Century; and also with William Warren, a capable comedian and father of a still greater William Warren, of the Boston Museum. Bernard considers Ann Merry equal to Mrs. Siddons in the roles of loving and passionate heroines. "With a voice that was all music, and a face all emotion, her pathos and tenderness were never exceeded." * Cooper was then only twenty-one but he became a great tragedian and was the foremost figure on the American stage until the advent of Edwin Forrest, the first native tragedian.

The New Theatre opened on December 5, 1796, with Mrs. Merry as *Juliet* to Moreton's *Romeo*, Warren acting *Friar Laurence*; and on December 9th, Cooper made his first appearance in America as *Macbeth* with Mrs. Morris as *Lady Macbeth*.

After *Romeo and Juliet*, Mrs. Oldmixon sang Dibdin's songs in *The Waterman*; and after *Macbeth* she appeared in Hoare's *The Prize*. On the 7th of December, *Inkle and Yarico* was given with Moreton as *Inkle*, Mrs. Oldmixon as *Wowski*, and Mrs. Warrell as *Yarico*. Dunlap says "Mrs. Oldmixon's *Wowski* was very fine, her songs exquisite".†

* *Retrospections of the Stage*, pp. 268-69.

† *Diary of William Dunlap*, (New York: N. Y. Historical Society, 1930) Vol. I, 355.

Cooper appeared as *Hamlet* on the 19th, followed by Mrs. Oldmixon in Cross' musical farce *The Purse*, repeated on January 30, 1797. She appeared on January 4, 1797, in the first presentation in America of Prince Hoare's *Lock and Key* with music by Shield, which long continued in popularity. It had been a success the previous winter at Covent Garden. The overture was written by the oboist of that theatre's orchestra, William Parke. It was witnessed by the President and Mrs. Washington, January 9, 1797, preceded by Mrs. Inchbald's *The Child of Nature*, in which Mrs. Merry, Mrs. Morris, Moreton, Wignell, and Warren acted. On the 17th *The Padlock* with Bates as *Mungo* was the after-piece. Blissett, long with the company in the next century, appeared on March 15th, as *Darby* in *The Poor Soldier*. *Lock and Key* was repeated on January 18th and February 10th.

The patrons of the New Theatre saw the noblest of Americans in his box with Mrs. Washington for the last time on February 27, 1797, when Mrs. Merry and Cooper acted in Morton's comedy, *The Way to Get Married*, followed by a ballet. Four days later Washington stood in Congress, diagonally across from the theatre, for the inauguration of his successor, he having refused a third term. His "countenance was as serene and unclouded as the day," Adams wrote to his wife, and in the "House of Representatives was a multitude as great as the space could contain, and I believe scarcely a dry eye but Washington's." He then departed in his coach for Mt. Vernon, never again to see the city where he had first received his commission as General of the revolutionary forces.

On March 31st, Mrs. Oldmixon sang in O'Keefe's *The Doldrum*, and on April 3rd in the "musical drama" *The Adopted Child* by Samuel Birch, which had been

successful at Drury Lane, and was here repeated on the 5th.

Love in a Village was given on April 26th, with Darley as *Hawthorn* and Mrs. Oldmixon as *Rosetta*. The season closed May 6, 1797, *Lock and Key* being the after-piece with Mrs. Oldmixon in her usual role. Following this the company went to Baltimore.

Manager Wignell opened his winter season on December 11, 1797, with a revival of *Robin Hood*, in which Darley was again in the title role, and John Bernard made his first appearance in Philadelphia. Mrs. Oldmixon was *Angelina*. Bernard, then forty-one, was a clever comedian from Covent Garden Theatre who had a wide experience on the stage. He remained for six years with the Philadelphia company and then became manager of a Boston theatre. He was an educated man and a shrewd observer; his *Retrospections of America* present a most valuable picture of the actors and playhouses from 1797 until his return to England in 1819.

Mrs. Oldmixon sang again in *The Adopted Child* on December 13th and in *Lock and Key* on December 18th.

Cooper had joined Hodgkinson in New York, but Fennell had returned for this season and appeared to a crowded house on January 3, 1798, as *Zanga* in *The Revenge* by Edward Young, a play prized by tragedians since its first appearance in 1721. In this Mrs. Henry was the *Leonora*.

On January 12, 1798, the comic opera *Abroad and at Home* by Joseph G. Holman, produced in 1790 at Covent Garden, was given for the first time, with this cast:

Sir Himon Flourish..Mr. Francis	Dickey	Mr. Blissett
Young Flourish ... Mr. Harwood	Bluff	Mr. Warrell

Old Testy	Mr. Warren	Bailiff's Followers
Young Testy	Mr. Bernard	Mr. Warrell, Jr., and Mr. T.
Capt. O'Neil	Mr. Hardinge	Warrell
Harcourt	Mr. Marshall	Lady Flourish Mrs. Hardinge
Snare	Mr. Taylor	Kitty Mrs. Oldmixon
		Miss Hartley Mrs. Warrell

On January 24 *The Dead Alive* was sung by Mrs. Oldmixon and Mrs. Warrell and *Lock and Key* was given again on the 26th. Bernard acted *Darby* with Mrs. Oldmixon in *The Poor Soldier* on February 9th, a young actor-singer, Gilbert Fox, being *Dermot*. The Marshalls were now in the company and on February 12th did *The Padlock*, Bernard being *Mungo*.

The Children in the Wood was given on February 26th, with Mrs. Oldmixon. On March 2nd a comic opera *The Shipwreck* by Colman the Younger was produced for the first time, with the Marshalls, Warren, Fox, Mrs. Warrell and Mrs. Oldmixon. It was repeated on the 5th.

The opera *Richard Coeur de Lion* was produced for the first time here on March 23rd, with this cast:

Richard	Mr. Marshall	Capt. of Party ..	Mr. Warrell, Jr.
Sir Owen	Mr. Darley	Anthonia	Miss Milbourne
Blendel	Mr. Hardinge	Matilda	Mrs. Marshall
Florestan	Mr. Fox	Laurette	Mrs. Oldmixon
Guillot	Mr. Blissett	Julie	Miss Hardinge
Old Matthew	Mr. Warrell	Dorcas	Mrs. L'Estrange
William	Mr. T. Warrell	Collette	Miss L'Estrange

The opera was an adaptation of a French work by General John Burgoyne, who had surrendered at Saratoga, and it had been first produced in 1786 at Drury Lane.*

*Burgoyne was a versatile character. He married a daughter of the Earl of Derby, and with Garrick produced a spectacle, *The Maid of the Oaks*, which ran at Drury Lane before he was ordered to Canada. After his recall to England, he defended his conduct with great ability in the House of Commons, of which he was a member. When the

On March 26th, a *Musical Entertainment, The American in London* was performed with this cast:

Freedom	Mr. Warren	Mrs. Manners	Mrs. Warrell
Pamplé	Mr. Fox	Mrs. Prattle	Mrs. Oldmixon
Brush	Mr. Harwood	Mrs. Freedom ..	Miss L'Estrange
1st Servant	Mr. Lafferty	Maria	Mrs. Marshall
Barney Boar	Mr. Bernard		

As it was given on Bernard's benefit night it was probably devised by him, being a medley of familiar airs and songs.

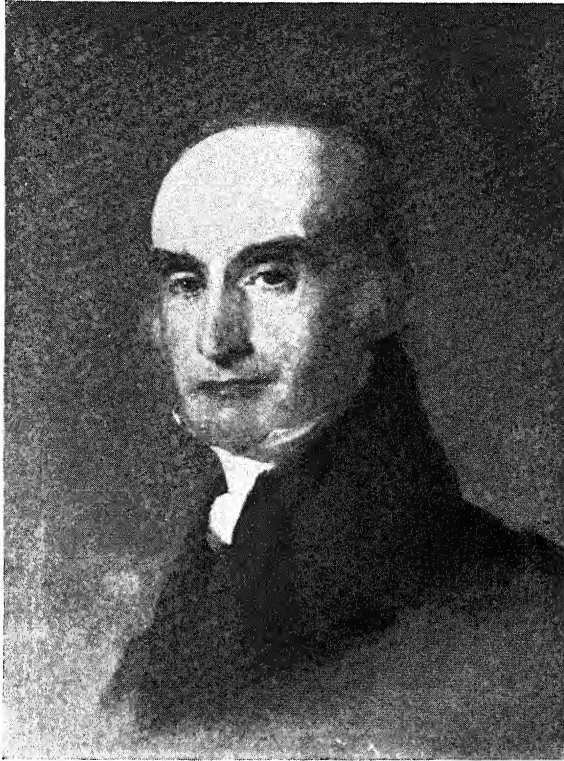
On March 30th, Fennell and Mrs. Merry acted *The Roman Father* for the benefit of John Pollard Moreton, who was probably in need because of his illness. He died of consumption on April 2nd and was buried from the house where he had resided at No. 39 South Front Street. He had shown much ability and risen rapidly from his arrival with Wignell in 1793.

Mrs. Oldmixon appeared April 7th, in a musical farce by Cobb, *The Humorist*, which was given here for the first time as was Allan Ramsay's pastoral play with songs entitled *The Gentle Shepherd* on April 16th, with the Marshalls, Mrs. Oldmixon and Bernard.

A comic opera, *Marian*, by Mrs. Francis Moore Brooke, had its first performance here on April 21st, with this cast:

Sir Henry	Mr. Darley, Jr.	Oliver	Mr. Warrell
Edward	Mr. Marshall	Marian	Mrs. Oldmixon
Robin	Mr. Francis	Patty Clover	Mrs. Marshall
Thomas	Mr. Darley	Peggy	Mrs. Warrell
William	Mr. Blissett	Fanny	Miss Milbourne
Jamie	Mr. Warren	Kitty	Mrs. Hunter

Whigs came again into power, he was appointed Commander of the Army in Ireland. His comic opera, *The Lord of the Manor*, and his comedy, *The Heiress*, were both most successful in the theatre, while his *Richard Coeur de Lion* survived on the stage for several generations.



JOSEPH HOPKINSON

Author of *Hail Columbia*. From the painting by Sully.

A historic event occurred in the theatre, April 25, 1798. It was the night of Gilbert Fox's benefit, and between the performance by Mrs. Merry and Fennell of James Boaden's tragedy *The Italian Monk* and the after-piece, which was Mrs. Brooke's musical piece *Rosina* with Mrs. Oldmixon, Fox sang the first public performance of *Hail Columbia*, set to the music of *The President's*

The favorite music Adapted to the
Federal Song Presidents March

Sung by M. FOX Written by J. HOPKINSON Esq.

For the Voice, Piano Forte, Guitar and Clarinet.

The image shows a page of a musical score. At the top, there is a decorative flourish with a central starburst. Below this, the title is written in a cursive font. The composer and performer information is printed below the title. The score itself consists of several staves of music. The first staff is a piano introduction. The second staff begins the vocal melody with the lyrics 'Hail! Columbia! Mother Land! hail, ye Heroes, born of Freedom's cause who fought & bled in'. The third staff continues the melody with 'freedom's cause who fought & bled in freedom's cause and when the storm of war was gone on'. The fourth staff continues with 'joyd the peace your valor won let Independence be our boast ever mindful'. The fifth staff continues with 'what it cost ever grateful for the prize let its Altar reach the Skies'. The sixth staff is marked '2d time Chorus' and begins with 'Firm uni- ted let us be rallying round our Li- ber- ty as a band of'. The music is written in a style typical of early 19th-century sheet music, with a key signature of one flat and a 2/4 time signature.

Hail! Columbia! Mother Land! hail, ye Heroes, born of Freedom's cause who fought & bled in
 freedom's cause who fought & bled in freedom's cause and when the storm of war was gone on
 joyd the peace your valor won let Independence be our boast ever mindful
 what it cost ever grateful for the prize let its Altar reach the Skies
 2d time Chorus
 Firm uni- ted let us be rallying round our Li- ber- ty as a band of

THE FIRST EDITION (INCLUDING
 Published by Benjamin
 From a copy in the

Brothers join peace and safety we shall find.

2

Immortal Patriots rise once more
 Defend your rights — defend your shore
 Let no rude foe with impious hand
 Let no rude foe with impious hand
 Invade the shrine where sacred lies
 Of toil and blood the well earned prize
 While offering peace sincere and just
 In heav'n we place a manly trust
 That truth and justice will prevail
 And every scheme of bondage fail
 Firm — united &c

3

Sound found the trump of fame
 Let Washington's great name
 Ring thro' the world with loud applause
 Ring thro' the world with loud applause
 Let every clime to Freedom dear
 Listen with a joyful ear —
 With equal skill with godlike pow'r
 He governs in the fearful hour
 Of horrid war or guides with ease
 The happier times of honest peace —
 Firm — united &c

4

Behold the Chief who now commands
 Once more to serve his Country stands
 The rock on which the storm will beat
 The rock on which the storm will beat
 But arm'd in virtue firm and true
 His hopes are fix'd on heav'n and you —
 When hope was sinking in dismay
 When glooms obscur'd Columbias day
 His steady mind from changes free
 Resolved on Death or Liberty —
 Firm — united &c

For the FLUTE or VIOLIN

2^d time Chorus

MUSIC) OF HOPKINSON'S *Hail Columbia*.

Carr, Philadelphia, 1798.

Library of Congress.

March. It was received with tremendous enthusiasm by the Federalists, who had jammed the theatre in anticipation of hearing it.

The President's March, which may have been based upon an old Hessian march, had long been popular and was played on every occasion when Washington appeared publicly. During the efforts of Jefferson's adherents to involve the new Republic in the European war on the side of France, the *Marseillaise* and *Ça Ira* were sung at their meetings and were quite often demanded from the theatre orchestra. Washington, supported by the Federalist party, was determined during his administration to keep the nation neutral. His policy of isolation was followed by John Adams, and *The President's March* became the symbol of the isolationists. But they had no song to compete with the ringing French air until, at Fox's request, the son of the author of the prologue at the opening of Douglas' first theater wrote verses eulogizing Washington and his foreign policy.

Fox in advertising his benefit stressed his singing of the "new Song . . . accompanied by full band and the following Grand Chorus." The Federalist organ, Cobbett's *Gazette*, described its success:

"But what gave life to everything was the Song (which will be seen in today's paper) written by Mr. Hopkinson, and sung by Mr. Fox, to the tune of *The President's March*. Never was anything received with applause as hearty and so general. The Song was sung at the end of the comedy, as mentioned in the bills; it was called for again at the end of the pantomime, and again after all the performance was over, and encored every time. At every repetition it was received with additional enthusiasm, 'till, toward the last, a great part

of the audience, pit, box and gallery, actually joined in the chorus. It was very pleasing to observe, that the last stanza received peculiar marks of approbation. Every one was closed with long and loud clappings and huzzas, but no sooner than the words—

Behold the Chief who now commands

were pronounced, than the house shook to its very center; the song and the whole music were drowned in the enthusiastic peals of applause, and the singers were obliged to stop and begin again and again, in order to get a hearing.*

On May 1st, President Adams and his lady were at the theatre and saw Mrs. Merry as *Isabella* in Thomas Southern's tragedy . . . supported by Fennell, Warren, Wignell, and Fox. Following which came *The Padlock* with Bernard again as *Mungo*, Darley, and Mrs. Marshall. Either between these pieces or after the latter, Fox again sang *Hail Columbia* while the great theatre resounded with the chorus sung by the auditors and their insistent shouts for repetitions.†

On May 2nd, for the Warrells' benefit, *Lionel and Clarissa* was revived with Mrs. Oldmixon in her old part of *Diana* and Mrs. Warrell as *Clarissa*.

The season closed on May 5, 1798. Due to the prevalence of yellow fever during the summer the New Theatre did not reopen until February 5, 1799. Neither Fennell nor Cooper were now with the Company, and, Moreton dead, there was no tragedian to play opposite to Mrs. Merry, hence the Company was confined to comedies for the principal part of the evenings. Mrs. Oldmixon also

* Quoted in *Joseph Hopkinson*, by Burton Alva Konkle, p. 79.

† Cobbet, quoted by Konkle, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

was missing, having presented a daughter to Sir John in December * and afterwards being engaged in the New York Theatre.

On the opening night and for the first time, Morton's comedy *Secrets Worth Knowing* was presented with Wignell, Marshall, Bernard, Warren, Mrs. Merry and Mrs. Morris in the leading parts and William B. Wood, aged nineteen, a future manager of the theatre, making his first appearance in a small part. The afterpiece was *The Farmer* with the Warrells, Darley, Marshall and Bernard. On February 8th *The Children in the Wood* was acted, Mrs. Marshall being *Josephine*. On the 13th she was the *Tomboy* in *The Romp*.

Lock and Key was given on March 13th, with Francis, Fox, and the Warrells. On March 18th the afterpiece was *Miss in Her Teens*, in which Miss Arnold from the Charleston Theatre made her first appearance in Philadelphia. She was to become the mother of Edgar Allan Poe. On March 23rd she sang and romped as *Little Pickle* in *The Spoilt Child*, and on April 3rd she sang in *The Adopted Child*. *Thomas and Sally* was acted by Darley and Mrs. Warrell on April 5th.

The Beggar's Opera appeared once more on April 8th, with this cast:

Peachum	Mr. Warren	Jemmy Twitcher ...	Mr. Lavancy
Lockit	Mr. Francis	Robin of Bagshot	Mr. Wood
Macheath	Mr. Marshall	Mrs. Peachum	Mrs. Morris
Fitch	Mr. Blissett	Polly	Mrs. Marshall
Mat O'Mint	Mr. Darley	Lucy	Mrs. Warrell
Ben Budge	Mr. Fox	Mrs. Coaxer	Mr. Hunter
Nimming Ned ..	Mr. Warrell, Jr.	Mrs. Vixen	Mrs. Lavancy
Harry Paddington ..	Mr. Warrell	Mrs. Slamakin ..	Miss L'Estrange
Wat Drearey	Mr. Doctor	Molly Brazen	Mrs. Doctor

* *Diary of William Dunlap*, vol. i, 355.

On April 17th, Fox played *Dermot*, Wignell *Darby*, Miss Arnold *Norah*, Mrs. Warrell *Kathleen*, in *The Poor Soldier*. On April 22nd, *The Padlock* was repeated and on the 24th there was "A Musicale Interlude" called *The Catch Club* in which all the vocalists of the company took part. It proved popular and was repeated May 1st, 3rd and 6th. On May 11th, at her benefit, Mrs. Warrell sang the favorite song of *Sweet Echo*, which was "echoed by Miss Broadhurst."

May 15th, when *Tancred and Sigismunda* was given by Mrs. Merry, has the interest of being the first performance in Philadelphia of Alexander Cain, who took the leading tragic roles with Mrs. Merry, and might have become, except for lack of character, a rival of Cooper.

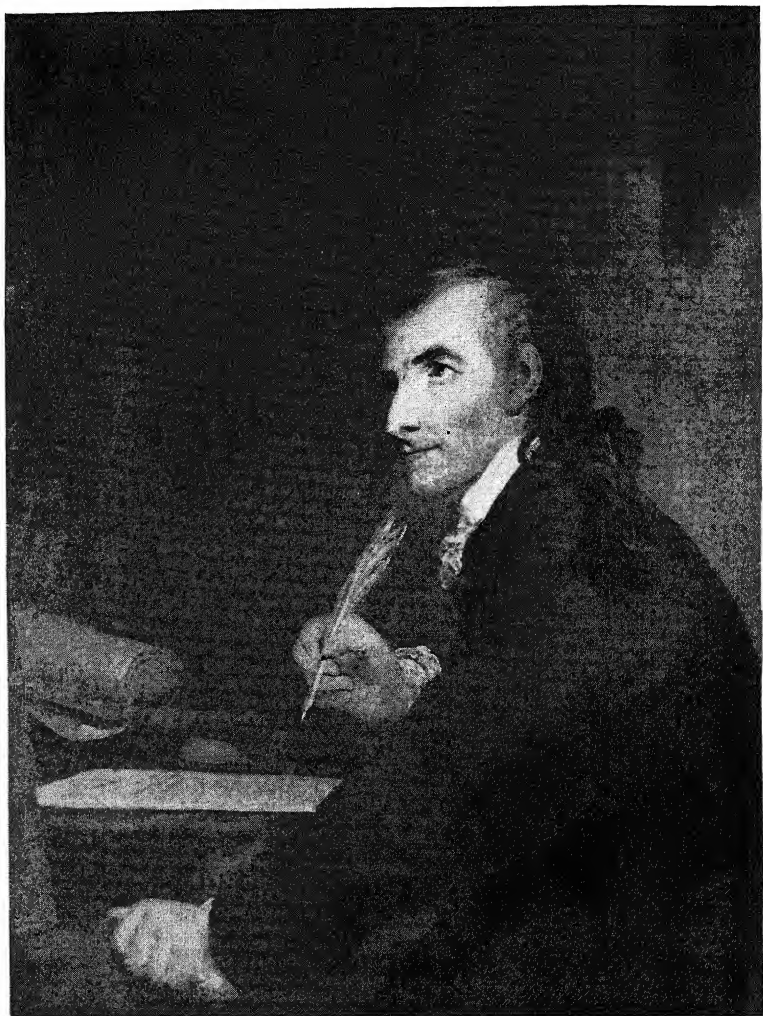
On May 24th a musical farce by Colman the Younger, *Blue Beard*, was presented here for the first time by Warren, Francis, the Marshalls, Mrs. Warrell and Miss Arnold. Mr. Reinagle had a benefit on May 25th when it was repeated, with the same cast. The season closed on May 27, 1799.

The New Theatre opened for the next season on December 4, 1799, with *The Stranger*, followed by Charles Dibdin's musical farce, new here, called *The Jew and the Doctor*, played by Warren, Francis, Bernard, and Miss L'Estrange. It was repeated on the 13th.

Another Dibdin piece was given on December 9th, *Five Thousand a Year*, in which, besides the before-named actors, Mr. and Mrs. Marshall and Wignell played. On December 11th, Mrs. Oldmixon made her appearance, after two years absence, in *The Prize*, with Wignell.

When the knowledge of Washington's death at Mt. Vernon on the night of December 14th reached the city, the Theatre was closed and remained so until December

FRANCIS HOPKINSON
THE FIRST AMERICAN POET-COMPOSER AND
OUR MUSICAL LIFE IN COLONIAL TIMES



FRANCIS HOPKINSON

From the painting by Gilbert Stuart, now in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

FRANCIS HOPKINSON
THE FIRST AMERICAN POET-COMPOSER AND
OUR MUSICAL LIFE IN COLONIAL TIMES

* For all practical purposes the period before 1720 may here be disregarded in the history of music of Colonial times, and the period from 1720 to 1800 may be termed the formative period of our musical life in general. It was an imitation of musical life in England, except that the costly and exotic Italian virtuoso opera was not attempted. (The cultured musical life of the Moravians at Bethlehem, based on German conditions, while admired by travellers, had no influence on the rest of the country.) Then, as now, music in America had an international flavor. Musicians began to flock here from England, Germany, France, Italy, as music teachers, members of the several concert and theatre orchestras and soloists. Then, as now, the German musicians predominated in the orchestras, a supremacy which was not

* The address here printed for the first time in a generally available form was presented by Oscar George Theodore Sonneck (1873-1929), first Chief of the Music Division of the Library of Congress, at *An Evening of Music of the Colonial Period*, sponsored by the Committee on Historical Research of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America, November 12, 1919. Mr. Sonneck prefaced his address with the following remarks:

"If an author has found seven books insufficient to incorporate all his data on early American music, he cannot possibly give in a short address more than the barest outline of the complicated subject. Accordingly, the following remarks are merely intended as remarks of orientation for the Colonial Dames and their guests, assembled for the unique opportunity to listen in such a *milieu* to songs by Francis Hopkinson and to music by masters of Colonial times played on the obsolete but fascinating and favorite instrument of the period."

challenged until the French Revolution drove to our shores a host of musical refugees and gave to the programs a distinctly French flavor and to opera lovers a first but short taste of French opera, by Gretry, Monsigny, Rousseau and others, and of Italian *opera buffa*, as, for instance, Pergolesi's *La serva padrona*.

Otherwise our operatic life* was practically restricted to English opera. But this restriction was only in kind since hardly a single English opera by such writers as Arne, Arnold, Shield, Linley—the Victor Herberts of their time—was produced in England which did not find its way to America, and that with amazing speed, everything considered. Indeed, I remember the case of one of these London “hits” which was performed in America only half a year after its London première. Then, as now, our managers would travel back and forth to acquire the American rights for such successful novelties and to lure favorite opera stars to our country. The whole operatic life was based on the stock company system, and toward the end of the eighteenth century two companies, the Old American Company and the still more capable company of Wignell and Reinagle's Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia, opened in 1793, carried on a rivalry from which the public at large profited. If one remembers that New York and Philadelphia were in 1790 by far our two largest cities with a population of only 40,000 each, the statement that the Old American Company then had in its repertoire more than one hundred operas and musical pantomimes will impress you with its signi-

* For detailed studies of early American operatic and concert life see the author's *Early opera in America*, New York, G. Schirmer, 1915, and his *Early concert-life in America (1731-1800)*, Leipzig, Breitkopf and Härtel, 1907. (Ed.)

ficance. Of course, that is a far cry from the first signs of operatic life in our country in 1735 (Charleston, S. C.) or 1732 (New York), but again consider that the repertoire consisted of such ballad operas as *Flora* and the famous *Beggar's Opera*, that such were then the only English operas performed in England and that the prototype of them all, *The Beggar's Opera*, was not produced until 1728.

A similar inference forces itself upon us, if we reflect that the first recorded public concerts took place in our country in 1731 at Boston and Charleston. Public concerts were a comparative novelty even in Europe. For instance, we know that they were not introduced in Vienna until 1728. The programs of our concerts were modelled after the concert programs in England. Plentiful instrumental solos and songs or airs from operas and oratorios would alternate with overtures, concerti grossi and symphonies. Vocally, Handel, of course, predominated. Instrumentally, as the century drew to its close, Haydn reigned supreme—Haydn the Richard Strauss of his time—surrounded by all the minor gods such as Pleyel, Stamitz, Pichl, in whom the musical world everywhere then delighted. Occasionally the orchestra season would comprise as many as eighteen subscription concerts, not counting benefit concerts for individual musicians. And these musicians often were really capable men, either as performers or composers of music in the style of the day. In our best orchestras there sat, for instance, men who had played under the great Haydn himself in London, and it surely was no mean compliment to Alexander Reinagle, the foremost musician in America in those days, if Carl Philip Emanuel Bach requested his portrait for his collection of musical celebrities. Then,

as now, the operatic stars would be engaged to enhance the public effectiveness of the program. Then, as now, they would prefer operatic arias to legitimate concert numbers, and in this manner our music lovers would become acquainted with the bravura arias from famous Italian operas, those of even Gluck included. That this development of our concert life did not take place over night goes without saying. Indeed, at first it was rather fitful, and the War for Independence seriously interfered with its progress, especially as the rather narrow-minded blue laws affected not only our operatic but also our concert life. All the more credit is due to such men as John Bentley in Philadelphia, who as early as 1783 and in the face of discouraging conditions, risked a series of twelve orchestra concerts, the so-called City Concerts.

Strange to say, in the field of choral music, the Colonial music lovers and musicians were not so successful in their imitation of English musical conditions. Nevertheless, time and again serious attempts were made to interest the public in the best oratorio music. For instance, William Tuckey, of New York, gave a very substantial selection from the *Messiah* in 1771, that is to say, at exactly the same time when Handel's masterpiece was first transplanted from England to Germany. Furthermore, I doubt whether even in Europe, outside of the famous musical centers, more ambitious choral concerts were often attempted than by Andrew Adgate, President of the ill-fated Uranian Academy, of Philadelphia, who, in 1786, gave a festival with a chorus of two hundred and fifty voices and an orchestra of fifty men.

Of course, no amount of research could establish an equality of our musical life with that of London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin. Such an attempt would have been

historical folly, but admittedly I did succeed in demonstrating that we had a fairly intelligent and vigorous musical life in Colonial times in the cities where previous historians might have looked for it, principally in Charleston, New York, Boston, Philadelphia. They, however, had their eyes on hamlets of a thousand inhabitants and everlastingly preached the doctrine that they found only feeble attempts at psalmody. To have destroyed that absurd historical sea-serpent tale was at least something, and though, after all is said and done, our Colonial musical life appears to call for the epithet "provincial," no sane person would expect more from an eighteenth century colony. To claim less, on the other hand, shows a most primitive appreciation and knowledge of the cultural tendencies and interests of your Colonial forebears. To this day, I am sorry to say, some of our general historians have not learned their lesson, so far as the history of music in our country is concerned.

With this general outline of music in Colonial times I now proceed to a brief sketch of Francis Hopkinson's musical career.

Francis Hopkinson appears to have begun the study of his favorite instrument, the harpsichord, at the late age of seventeen, in 1754. Though therefore he probably never became a virtuoso on the instrument, he gained quite a reputation among Philadelphians as a performer, since Longacre many years after his death (in 1836), in his *National Portrait Gallery*, remarked: "He was a musician of high grade in his performances of the harpsichord."

We do not know who his first teacher was, but we have every reason to believe that in the sixties he profited by the instruction of James Bremner, a capable Scotch

musician. But even before Bremner's arrival Hopkinson was proficient enough to serve as harpsichordist at the surprisingly ambitious musical functions of the College of Philadelphia, of which he was the moving spirit during the years 1757-1768. It is probable that he took up the study of the organ simultaneously with that of the harpsichord. At any rate, he became skilful enough an organist to substitute for James Bremner at Christ Church in 1770 and for several years later.

Holding office as organist, he had ample opportunity to form ideas concerning the "proper conduct of organs in church." They are embodied in his miscellaneous "Essays and Occasional Writings" in form of a letter * to Rev. White, the Rector of Christ Church, and show so much common sense and artistic spirit as to be of educational value even today. I do not hesitate to declare that little has been written on the subject in so few lines with superior lucidity and taste.

To form a correct idea of Hopkinson's knowledge of musical literature is today, of course, impossible. It was certainly not restricted to the narrow field of psalmody, with which he had to be familiar as organist, and which we know him to have taught the children of the United St. Peter and Christ Church congregations at least in 1764. Fortunately, the remnants of his fine musical library, still in possession of his descendants, permit us to gauge his musical interests. Apparently they leaned strongly toward the Italian masters of that period, but his taste was of the best, for he appears to have been particularly fond of such composers as Handel, Scarlatti, Stamitz, Vivaldi, Galuppi, Pugnani, Corelli, Guglielmi,

* Reproduced in the author's *Francis Hopkinson . . . and James Lyon* . . . , Washington, McQueen, 1905, p. 59-62. (ED.)

Giardini, Geminiani. Substitute for these once modern of the moderns, names more familiar to you, like Brahms, Tschaikowsky, Franck, Rachmaninov, Elgar, Debussy, Wagner, Strauss, and it will at once become apparent that Francis Hopkinson was indeed a connoisseur of the music of his time.

Of course, he did not collect his entire musical library at Philadelphia. Very likely he purchased a number of works by his favorite masters while in England during the years 1766 and 1767. Unfortunately, the letters written to his mother from England contain only a few musical allusions, but fortunately one of them contains a passage that is very important. He mentions having met a Mr. Flanagan and he adds, "He used to come sometimes to my concerts."

This remark is the only positive clue to Francis Hopkinson's career as concert manager or performer. He may have referred to mere "musical-at-homes," but I doubt it. Certainly he did not refer to the performance of Arne's *Masque of Alfred the Great* at the College in January, 1757, at which he probably officiated as harpsichordist, and it cannot have been the public concert directed by John Palma in the same month, the first concert advertised in Philadelphia, though perhaps not the first actually given. Since there do not appear to have been other concerts worth mentioning between 1757 and 1764, I am inclined to believe that Francis Hopkinson was alluding to the fortnightly subscription concerts established in January, 1764.

These subscription concerts would best be classified as soirées of chamber music. The works played which called for the largest number of performers were the concerti grossi, concertos for several solo instruments with

orchestra accompaniment. To play these not more than a dozen or so musicians were customary, and this number could easily have been recruited among the gentlemen-amateurs and professional musicians of Philadelphia. Indeed, that was the procedure not only in America but in England and on the European continent, therefore no proof of special primitiveness of Philadelphia.

Only a few years later the War for Independence broke out. Everywhere fiddle and harpsichord gave way to fife and drum. Our musical life, which not alone at Philadelphia, but at Boston, Charleston, New York and in cities of minor importance had steadily been developing, was crushed and remained more or less crippled for years after the war. Gradually, however, musical entertainments returned and multiplied at a surprising rate, but it lies not within the plan of this address to describe the musical surroundings in which Francis Hopkinson lived after the war.

A simple reason forbids this. His activity had been necessary, previous to the great struggle for independence, to awaken and to keep awake the musical life at Philadelphia. *But now the days of the amateur musician had passed, the professional definitely took his place,* and the first golden age of music in Philadelphia, the period from 1790 to 1850, was fast approaching. Without doubt, Francis Hopkinson's love of music was as deep after as we know it to have been previous to the war, but his position had changed. It was less the musician Hopkinson than the music-lover who now influenced matters. We may rest assured that John Bentley, Raynor Taylor, Benjamin Carr, Alexander Reinagle and other notable musicians were welcome at his house, received from him all due encouragement for their ambitious

musical enterprises, and that they in turn respected him as their most important forerunner, and well knew that without the foundations laid by James Bremner, Governor Penn, Joseph Gualdo and Francis Hopkinson their own position would have been uncertain and perilous.

Whereas Francis Hopkinson's career as gentleman-musician, harpsichordist, organist, concert-manager, psalmodist has more or less significance only for local history, his activity as a composer and as inventor of musical instruments assumes national, indeed international, importance.

Though the piano-forte had been invented by Cristofori about 1720, it did not supersede the harpsichord in universal favor until about the time of Hopkinson's death. The harpsichord was constructed on the plectrum principle. That is, its tone was produced by plucking the strings, generally with crow-quills. While the harpsichord by virtue of its penetrating tone became the indispensable instrument for all ensemble and accompaniment purposes in Handel and Bach's time, it had this defect for solo purposes that the harpsichordist could not modify its tone dynamically by difference of touch, as was possible on the "piano-forte." Innumerable attempts were made to overcome this handicap by constructing harpsichords with contrivances to imitate the tones of the harp, the lute, bassoon, oboe, etc.—thus making of the harpsichord a miniature orchestra in itself. Other inventors limited their endeavors to improving the tone of the harpsichord without resorting to artificial means. Among the latter inventors was one whom historians have called "the last glory of the harpsichord" and unanimously they report that he was an Englishman by the name of Hopkinson, residing at Paris. To make

a long and forgotten story short, I discovered that this Parisian Englishman, this "last glory of the harpsichord," was in reality an American, residing at Philadelphia—namely, Francis Hopkinson. There can be no doubt about this since his discoveries which became known in Europe are embodied in the *Transactions* of the American Philosophical Society and elsewhere. His improvements of the harpsichord, while not wholly original, consisted, briefly, in this, that he substituted by ingenious means for the crow-quill first metal tongues, then leather quills and finally such of velvet cork. In passing, I mention also that he was the inventor of the "Bellarmonica" and one of those who successfully supplied a keyboard to Franklin's invention of the musical glasses.*

And now finally and briefly to Francis Hopkinson, the first American poet-composer.

In January, 1757, there was performed at the College of Philadelphia a modified version of Thompson-Mallet's *Masque of Alfred the Great* with Arne's music. Among the alterations there was a duet between two invisible spirits, and this was fitted, as the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported, "to an excellent piece of new music by one of the performers." There can be no reasonable doubt that this performer and composer was Francis Hopkinson, but we historians, too, consider a man innocent until he is proven guilty, and so far as I know the absolute proof of Hopkinson's authorship is still lacking. Without such proof, we have to fall back on a collection of songs and anthems in Hopkinson's own hand (now in the Library of Congress). This collection was written in 1759 and 1760 and contains several songs and anthems by Francis Hopkinson himself. The first of these, and

* See the following chapter. (Ed.)

clearly to be dated 1759, is the graceful little song *My Days Have Been so Wondrous Free*, unquestionably the earliest American song on record.

But again the historian hesitates to call Francis Hopkinson unqualifiedly the first American composer, for the reason that we know James Lyon to have composed an *Ode on Peace* for the commencement exercises at Princeton in September, 1759. Fortunately, Francis Hopkinson himself has come to our rescue. He knew James Lyon, knew moreover of him as a composer, and yet he claimed in 1788 in the dedication of his most important published work to George Washington, the excessively scarce *Seven Songs*:

"However small the reputation I shall derive from this work, I cannot, I believe, be refused the credit of being the first Native of the United States who has produced a musical composition."

From all we know of Francis Hopkinson's character, I doubt not that he investigated the correctness of his claim and found his earliest compositions to antedate those of James Lyon. To carry historical scruples too far serves no useful purpose, and so we may say that all available evidence points indeed to Francis Hopkinson as the first American composer.*

*It appears to the Editor that Hopkinson's sentence lends itself more readily to an entirely different interpretation. In the first place, Hopkinson can by no means be called "the first American composer." As Sonneck himself later pointed out in *Musical America*, (Feb. 17, 1923, p. 40), the compositions of both Hopkinson and Lyons were antedated many years by the hymns of Johannes Kelpius and Conrad Beissel (see Volumes I and II of the present work), and probably also by the unknown creations of composers in New England, the South, or the Spanish Southwest. Even had Hopkinson been unaware of the creative efforts of his earlier fellow-Pennsylvanians, he must have realized that

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQUIRE.

SIR,

IMBRACE, with heart-felt satisfaction, every opportunity that offers of recognizing the personal Friendship that hath so long fulfilled between us. The present Occasion allows me to do this in a manner most flattering to my Vanity ; and I have accordingly taken advantage of it, by presenting this Work to your Patronage, and honouring it with your Name.

It cannot be thought an unwarrantable anticipation to look up to you as seated in the most dignified situation that a grateful People can offer. The universally avowed Wife of America, and the Nearness of the Period in which that Wife will be accomplished, sufficiently justify such an Anticipation ; from which arises a confident Hope, that the same Wisdom and Virtue which has so successfully conducted the Arms of the United States in Times of Invasion, War, and Tumult, will prove also the successful Patron of Arts and Sciences in Times of national Peace and Prosperity ; and that the Glory of America will rise conspicuous under a Government designated by the *Will*, and an Administration founded in the *Hearts of THE PEOPLE*.

With respect to the little Work, which I have now the honour to present to your notice, I can only say that it is such as a Lover, not a Master, of the Arts can furnish. I am neither a profess'd Poet, nor a profess'd Musician ; and yet venture to appear in those characters united ; for which, I confess, the censure of Temerity may justly be brought against me.

If these Songs should not be so fortunate as to please the *young Performers*, for whom they are intended, they will at least not occasion much Trouble in learning to perform them ; and this will, I hope, be some Alleviation of their Disappointment.

However small the Reputation may be that I shall derive from this Work, I cannot, I believe, be refused the Credit of being the first Native of the United States who has produced a Musical Composition. If this attempt should not be too severely treated, others may be encouraged to venture on a path, yet untrodden in America, and the Arts in successfull will take root and flourish amongst us.

I hope for your favourable Acceptance of this Mark of my Affection and Respect, and have the Honour to be

Your Excellency's most obedient, and

Most humble Servant,

F. HOPKINSON.

PHILADELPHIA,
Nov. 20th, 1788.

DEDICATION OF HOPKINSON'S *Seven Songs*

From the copy in the Library of Congress.

It certainly does not point to William Billings, the Bostonian tanner and psalmist, whose first publication, *The New England Psalm Singer*, is dated 1770. However, until I published in 1904 and 1905 my researches on Francis Hopkinson's musical career, William Billings was so universally considered the first American composer that funds were being collected to erect a monument to this, in his way, quite a remarkable man.

Hopkinson's song of 1759, *My days have been so wondrous free* (to words by Doctor Parnell), and his other songs betray the period in which they were composed. Hundreds and hundreds of similar simple songs for the voice with harpsichord were produced by Hopkinson's contemporaries. It would therefore be erroneous to suppose that his settings for "Treble and Bass" reveal uncommonly primitive efforts. This was the style adopted for such pastoral songs by high and low in the kingdom of music about 1750, and the American composer falls short only in his rather stiff harmonization.

The songs and anthems in the manuscript collection of 1759-1760, the *Seven Songs* (really eight, since an

even a pioneer civilization cannot exist for a century and a half without "producing a musical composition," no matter how crude or naive.

In the second place, this dedicatory sentence obviously refers not to the writer's compositions of thirty years earlier but to "this Work," the *Seven songs* just "produced;" any other interpretation is grammatically as well as logically unsound. Finally, there is the term *United States*. Not "America," or "this continent," but *the United States*—a political entity which had come into being only a very few months before Hopkinson dated his dedication "Nov. 20th, 1788." No doubt the *Songs* and the nation were born almost simultaneously, and Hopkinson could thus claim with little fear of contradiction "the Credit of being the first Native of the United States who has produced a musical composition." Viewed thus, his claim ceases to be a grandiloquent boast, opposed to common sense, and becomes a reasonable statement that a man well acquainted with contemporary musical affairs could logically afford to make. (EDITOR'S NOTE)

Handwritten musical score for the song "My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free". The score is written on ten staves, with the first five staves containing the melody and the last five staves containing the bass line. The lyrics are written below the melody. The music is in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The tempo is marked "Allegro". The score is written in ink on aged paper.

My days have been so wondrous free
 when first I met thee with a heart so true
 and feeling that I was a man
 breathing back to thee a sigh to thee
 and a sigh to thee

MY DAYS HAVE BEEN SO WONDROUS FREE

From the composer's manuscript collection, now in the Library of Congress.

MY DAYS HAVE BEEN SO WONDROUS FREE.

Song by Francis Hopkinson, 1759 (?).

Sym.

My

days have been so won-drous free the lit-tle birds, that fly with care-less

ease from tree... to tree were but as blest as I, were but... as blest as

Sym.

I Ask glid-ing wa-ters if.... a

tear of mine in-creas'd that stream And ask the breathing gales if e'er I

lent.... a sigh to them.... I lent a.... sigh to them.

*) I suggest G sharp.

From Sonneck's *Francis Hopkinson and James Lyons*.

eighth song was added during publication), the one printed in the *Columbian Magazine*, 1789, and the *Ode from Ossian's Poems* are practically all of Hopkinson's compositions that seem to have been preserved either in manuscript or in print. But they by no means represent his total "baggage," as the French say. It is a pity, for instance, that the music for the Dialogues and Odes which he composed for the Commencement Exercises of the College of Philadelphia, 1761, 1762, 1763, do not appear to be preserved, and especially must we deplore the loss of the score of "*The Temple of Minerva*, an Oratorical Entertainment performed in November, 1781, by a Company of Gentlemen and Ladies in the Hotel of the Minister of France in Presence of His Excellency General Washington and his Lady." The *dramatis personae* were: Minerva, her High Priest, the Genius of France, the Genius of America; and the whole entertainment consisted of two scenes with overture, trios, duet, air, chorus.

Whether *The Temple of Minerva* was a "dramatic cantata," performed, as was often done in those days, with scenery, but not really acted, or was a real miniature grand opera remains an open question. At any rate, however, Francis Hopkinson blossoms forth, in addition to all his other accomplishments, as either the first American cantata composer or as the first American opera composer.

Finally, we have to regret the loss of his manuscript of the once popular *Washington's March*, attributed to him by contemporaries. Unfortunately, about half a dozen "Washington Marches" existed, and two of them were of about equal popularity, but which of the two



MARY HOPKINSON MORGAN

(Mrs. John Morgan, sister of Francis Hopkinson)

From the painting by Benjamin West. The instrument is a cittern or "English guitar."

Francis Hopkinson actually composed no amount of critical research enabled me to decide.

Little remains to be said. As a composer, Francis Hopkinson did not improve audibly during the thirty years that separate his earliest from his last songs. His harmony is still faulty and "draggy" at times (making all due allowance for numerous engraver's errors), and he did not acquire an individual musical profile. To claim classic beauty or high artistic value for his songs would mean to confuse the standpoint of the critic with that of the antiquarian and patriot. But even the critic who does not care to explain and pardon esthetic shortcomings from a historical point of view will have to admit that Francis Hopkinson's songs do not lack grace, charm, and expressiveness, and that he obeyed the laws of musical declamation in English more carefully than a host of fashionable composers of that period. Stylistically, his songs are just as old-fashioned today as theirs, though perhaps less so. But why should we criticize at all our first musical compositions? It behooves us rather to look upon these primitive pioneer efforts as upon venerable documents of the innate love of the American people for the beauties of music, and as documents of the fact that among the "Signers" there was at least one who proved to be a "successful patron of Arts and Science," whose wish and prophecy that "others would be encouraged to venture on his path, yet untrodden in America," and that the Arts would "take root and flourish amongst us" came gloriously true.

O. G. SONNECK

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ON MUSIC



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FRANKLIN PLAYING HIS ARMONICA

From a painting by Alan Foster, reproduced with the kind permission of The Theodore Presser Co.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ON MUSIC

Printing, poetry, politics, economy, literature, philosophy, science, invention, religion, diplomacy—when one considers the endless catalog of subjects which engaged the mind of Benjamin Franklin one can only be amazed that this eighteenth-century Leonardo da Vinci found time among his varied endeavors to establish a separate and substantial reputation in the realm of music. True, so far as the more customary evidences of musicianship are concerned Franklin's accomplishments were neither many nor startling. In his younger days, as a member of the Junto, he did his share of singing; * in later years, having risen from journeyman printer to gentleman of leisure, he played with unrecorded skill that gentleman's instrument of his day, the guitar.† His chief recognition as a performer came in connection with his own "armonica," to be discussed in later paragraphs. Evidence that he also played the harp, violin, and violoncello seems to be purely inferential,‡ based on such references as the one telling that the British "stole and carried off [Franklin's] Musical Instruments, viz., a Welsh Harp, ball Harp, and

* O. G. Sonneck, "The musical side of Benjamin Franklin," in *Sum Cuique*, New York, G. Schirmer, Inc., 1916, pp. 75-76.

† In a letter of December 7, 1762, to the Englishman, Whiteford, Franklin wrote: "I shall never touch the strings of the British lyre without remembering my British friends . . ."

‡ O. G. Sonneck, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

Set of tuned Bells, which were in a box, [and a] Viola da Gamba . . .” *

Another assertion for which direct evidence is lacking has it that Franklin upon occasion composed music as well as poetry. Two French Masonic songs † composed by “the American brother” have been attributed ‡ to Franklin on the grounds that in 1742 he was the only American Mason with sufficient literary ability to produce such songs. Such an argument scarcely does justice to Franklin’s brother Masons, and overlooks the fact that in 1742 he was still ignorant of French and was of little literary prominence outside Philadelphia. It is further rendered suspect by an impressive lack of evidence among the voluminous Franklin literature. Again, although there is no doubt that Franklin was author to a number of songs in his Junto days, it is altogether likely that they were set to tunes already popular rather than to music of his own composing.§

* Letter of Sarah Bache to her father in Paris, after British evacuation of Philadelphia in June 1778.

† In an *Apologie pour l'ordre des Francs-Maçons* published at The Hague by Pierre Gosse in 1742. See pp. 503-506 of this volume.

‡ Anderson Galleries, *Catalog of Sale No. 1633, February 28-March 1, 1922*. New York, Anderson Galleries, 1922. Item No. 265.

§ A manuscript *Quartetto á 3 violini con violoncello del Sigre Benjamin Francklin*, long buried in the “Réserve” of the Paris Conservatory Library and apparently unknown to Franklin biographers, was published recently (1946) by Éditions Odette Lieutier of Paris. Written in *scordatura* (unusual tuning of the strings) and for the open strings only, so that no fingering is required, the suite-like Quartet seems to be a mathematical *tour de force* with little musical feeling even though its five short movements bear such conventional titles as *Menuetto* and *Siciliano*. As such, it could conceivably have been compounded by the indefatigable scientist, but the manuscript is not in Franklin’s hand and no evidence has been found in support of his authorship apart from the title page itself.

Undistinguished though Franklin may have been as a practicing musician, however, there were certain respects in which he displayed a keenly sensitive musical nature and a characteristically original turn of mind in dealing with musical problems. That he had more than the normal amount of interest in music to be expected of a gentleman of culture must be evident to any reader of his *Autobiography*, his essays, and his letters. At the age of twenty-two, when formulating his "scheme of employment for the twenty-four hours of a natural day," Franklin assigned the cherished after-supper hours to "music or diversion, or conversation." Instructing his wife (letter of June 22, 1767) regarding the furnishing of the "blue room," he told her to "let the papier mâché musical figures be tacked to the middle of the ceiling." Throughout his travels he constantly sought new musical experiences, whether from the Bethlehem Moravians, who entertained him "with good musick, the organ being accompanied with violins, hautboys, flutes, clarinets,* etc.," or in sophisticated London, where in 1759 Franklin heard Handel conduct his last performance of *Messiah*.†

But interest in music, even when pursued to the extent of tacking musical figures on one's ceiling, is hardly the same as eminence in music. Benjamin Franklin claims serious consideration in a work devoted to music mainly as a result of two unlike but entirely characteristic manifestations of his many-sided genius: his well-

* This statement, made in the *Autobiography* with regard to a visit to Bethlehem early in 1757, is the earliest known reference to clarinets in the Western Hemisphere. The presence of clarinets in Bethlehem at that date, when the instrument was still rare in European musical circles, is testimony to the progressive state of music in the Moravian community. See Volume II of this series, pp. 115-238.

† O. G. Sonneck, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

known invention of the "Franklin Harmonica," * and his less-known sallies into the realm of musical esthetics and psychology. In the one his musicianship found expression through his mechanical ingenuity; in the other, through his skill as a practical philosopher. Both episodes are known to us largely through Franklin's own writings, so that they come to us graced with that charm of language which invests even his most prosaic discussions.

The earliest and most important of three documents in which Franklin discusses his armonica is a letter to Padre Giambatista Beccaria, a Turin scientist with whom he had corresponded regarding his electrical experiments. The letter is dated July 13, 1762, at London:

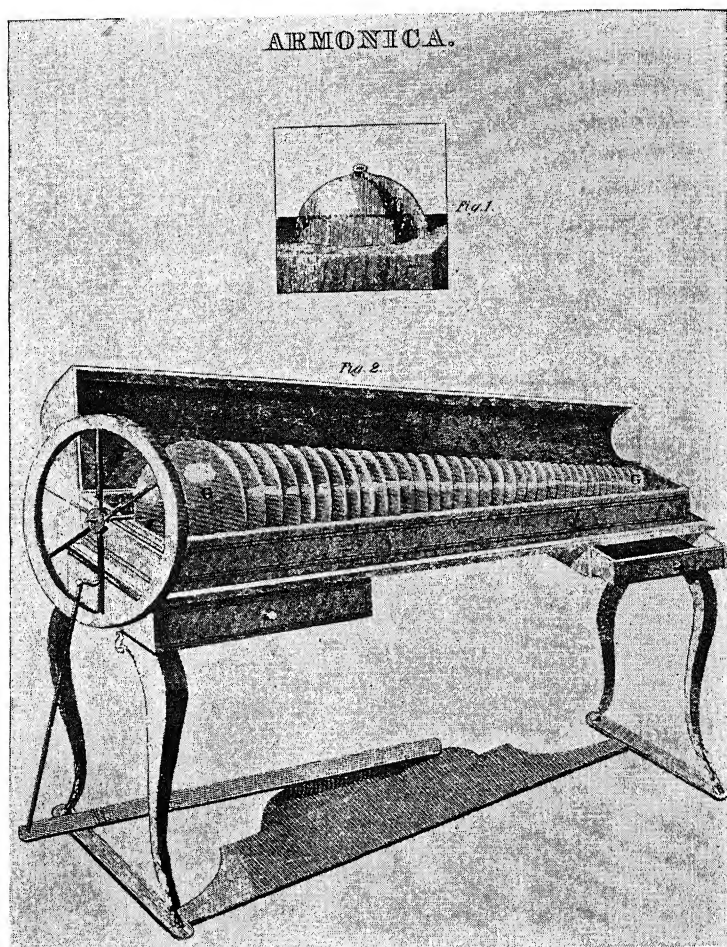
Perhaps . . . it may be agreeable to you, as you live in a musical country, to have an account of the new instrument lately added here to the great number that charming science was before possessed of. As it is an instrument that seems peculiarly adapted to Italian music, especially that of the soft and plaintive kind, I will endeavor to give you such a description of it, and of the manner of constructing it, that you or any of your friends may be enabled to imitate it, if you incline to do so, without being at the expense and trouble of the many experiments I have made in endeavouring to bring it to its present perfection.

You have doubtless heard the sweet tone that is drawn from a drinking-glass by passing a wet finger round its brim. One Mr. Puckeridge, a gentleman from Ireland, was the first who thought of playing tunes, formed of these tones. He collected a number of glasses of different sizes, fixed them near

* Also inaccurately known by the more general terms "glass harmonica" and "musical glasses," as well as by Franklin's own appellation, "armonica." Whereas Franklin only *perfected* the musical glasses, known long before his time, he did actually *invent* the "armonica."

each other on a table, and tuned them by putting into them water more or less, as each note required. The tones were brought out by passing his fingers round their brims. He was unfortunately burned here, with his instrument, in a fire which consumed the house he lived in. Mr. E. Delaval, a most ingenious member of our Royal Society, made one in imitation of it, with a better choice and form of glasses, which was the first I saw or heard. Being charmed by the sweetness of its tones, and the music he produced from it, I wished only to see the glasses disposed in a more convenient form, and brought together in a narrower compass, so as to admit of a greater number of tones, and all within reach of hand to a person sitting before the instrument, which I accomplished after various intermediate trials and less commodious forms, both of glasses and construction, in the following manner.

The glasses are blown as near as possible in the form of hemispheres, having each an open neck or socket in the middle. The thickness of the glass near the brim about a tenth of an inch, or hardly quite so much, but thicker as it comes nearer the neck, which in the largest glasses is about an inch deep, and an inch and a half wide within, these dimensions lessening, as the glasses themselves diminish in size, except that the neck of the smallest ought not to be shorter than half an inch. The largest glass is nine inches in diameter, and the smallest three inches. Between these two are twenty-three different sizes, differing from each other a quarter of an inch in diameter. To make a single instrument there should be at least six glasses blown of each size; and out of this number one may probably pick thirty-seven glasses (which are sufficient for three octaves with all the semitones) that will be each either the note one wants or a little sharper than that note, and all fitting so well into each other as to taper pretty regularly from the largest to the smallest. It is true there are no thirty-seven sizes, but it often happens that two of the same size differ a note or half note in tone, by reason of a difference in thickness, and these



ARMONICA AND GLASS

From a drawing in Sparks' *Works of Benjamin Franklin* (Vol. VI).

may be placed one in the other without sensibly hurting the regularity of the taper form.

The glasses being chosen, and every one marked with a diamond the note you intend it for, they are to be tuned by diminishing the thickness of those that are too sharp. This is done by grinding them round from the neck towards the brim, the breadth of one or two inches, as may be required; often trying the glass by a well-tuned harpsichord, comparing the tone drawn from the glass by your finger, with the note you want, as sounded by that string of the harpsichord. When you come nearer the matter, be careful to wipe the glass clean and dry before each trial, because the tone is something flatter when the glass is wet, than it will be when dry; and, grinding a very little between each trial, you will thereby tune to great exactness. The more care is necessary in this, because, if you go below your required tone, there is no sharpening it again but by grinding somewhat off the brim, which will afterwards require polishing, and thus increase the trouble.

The glasses being thus tuned, you are to be provided with a case for them, and a spindle on which they are to be fixed. My case is about three feet long, eleven inches every way wide within at the biggest end, and five inches at the smallest end; for it tapers all the way, to adapt it better to the conical figure of the set of glasses. This case opens in the middle of its height, and the upper part turns up by hinges fixed behind. The spindle, which is of hard iron, lies horizontally from end to end of the box within, exactly in the middle, and is made to turn on brass gudgeons at each end. It is round, an inch in diameter at the thickest end, and tapering to a quarter of an inch at the smallest. A square shank comes from its thickest end through the box, on which shank a wheel is fixed by a screw. This wheel serves as a fly to make the motion equable, when the spindle, with the glasses, is turned by the foot like a spinning-wheel. My wheel is of mahogany, eighteen inches in diameter, and pretty thick, so as to conceal near its circumference about twenty-five pounds of lead. An ivory pin is fixed

in the face of this wheel, and about four inches from the axis. Over the neck of this pin is put the loop of the string that comes up from the movable step to give it motion. The case stands on a neat frame with four legs.

To fix the glasses on the spindle, a cork is first to be fitted in each neck pretty tight, and projecting a little without the neck, that the neck of one may not touch the inside of another when put together, for that would make a jarring. These corks are to be perforated with holes of different diameters, so as to suit that part of the spindle on which they are to be fixed. When a glass is put on, by holding it stiffly between both hands, while another turns the spindle, it may be gradually brought to its place.

But care must be taken that the hole be not too small, lest, in forcing it up, the neck should be split; nor too large, lest the glass, not being firmly fixed, should turn or move on the spindle, so as to touch and jar against its neighbouring glass. The glasses thus are placed one in another, the largest on the biggest end of the spindle, which is to the left hand; the neck of this glass is towards the wheel, and the next goes into it in the same position, only about an inch of its brim appearing beyond the brim of the first; thus proceeding, every glass when fixed shows about an inch of its brim (or three quarters of an inch, or half an inch, as they grow smaller) beyond the brim of the glass that contains it; and it is from these exposed parts of each glass that the tone is drawn, by laying a finger upon one of them as the spindle and glasses turn round.

My largest glass is G, a little below the reach of a common voice, and my highest G, including three complete octaves. To distinguish the glasses the more readily to the eye, I have painted the apparent parts of the glasses' within side, every semitone white, and the other notes of the octave with the seven prismatic colors, *viz.*, C, red; D, orange; E, yellow; F, green; G, blue; A, indigo; B, purple, and C, red again; so that glasses of the same color (the white excepted) are always octaves to each other.

This instrument is played upon, by sitting before the middle of the set of glasses as before the keys of a harpsichord, turning them with the foot, and wetting them now and then with a sponge and clean water. The fingers should be first a little soaked in water, and quite free from all greasiness; a little fine chalk upon them is sometimes useful, to make them catch the glass and bring out the tone more readily. Both hands are used, by which means different parts are played together. Observe, that the tones are best drawn out when the glasses turn *from* the ends of the fingers, not when they turn *to* them.

The advantages of this instrument are, that its tones are incomparably sweet beyond those of any other; that they may be swelled and softened at pleasure by stronger or weaker pressures of the finger, and continued to any length; and that the instrument, being once well tuned, never again wants tuning.

In honor of your musical language, I have borrowed from it the name of this instrument, calling it the Armonica.

With great esteem and respect, I am, &c.,

B. FRANKLIN

Further details about the construction of the armonica are provided in Franklin's letter of December 8, 1772 (also written at London), to M. Barbeu Dubourg, who was then in the midst of translating and editing the first French edition of *Oeuvres de M. Franklin*:

When the glasses are ranged on the horizontal spindle, or, to make use of your expression, *enfilés*, and each one is definitely fixed in its place, the whole of the largest glass appears, at the extremity to the left; the following one, nearly enclosed in the preceding one, shows only about an inch of its border, which advances so much further than the edge of the larger glass; and so, in succession, each glass exceeds the one containing it, leaving by this placement an uncovered border

Some Directions for the Drawing and the Use
 from the Collection of the American
 Academy of the Arts in Philadelphia

(Before you sit down to play, the student should
 be well exerted with soap and Water and the soap
 will rinse off.) The player must keep his
 hands clean and free from all dirt and grease.
 You must be provided with a Bottle of
 Rain Water (Spring Water is generally too hard
 and produces a harsh Sound) and a sponge
 in a Glass, little dry Band, and when you
 must keep so much Water that the sponge may
 be always wet.

OPENING PARAGRAPHS OF FRANKLIN'S "SOME DIRECTIONS . . ."

From the author's manuscript draft, now in the possession of the American Philosophical Society.

on which the fingers may be applied. The glasses do not touch one another, but they are so near as not to admit a finger to pass between them; so that the interior border is not susceptible of being rubbed.

The finger is to be applied flat on the borders of the largest glasses, and on the borders of the smaller; but in part on the borders, and in part on the edges, of the glasses of an intermediate size. Nothing but experience can instruct with respect to this manutation, (*fingering*,) because the different-sized glasses require to be touched differently, some nearer the edge, and others farther from it. A few hours' exercise will teach this.*

B. F.

Instructions for the performer, rather than for the manufacturer, are the burden of the third Franklin document pertaining to the armonica. The three undated manuscript pages of the original evidently constitute the draft of an address or dissertation which has failed to survive in any other form:

Some Directions for drawing out the Tones from the Glasses of the Armonica.

Before you sit down to play, the fingers should be well washed with soap and water, and the soap well rinsed off.

The glasses must be always kept perfectly clean from the least greasiness; therefore suffer nobody to touch them with unwashed hands; for even the common slight natural greasiness of the skin rubbed on them will prevent their sounding for a long time.

You must be provided with a bottle of rain water, (spring water is generally too hard and produces a harsh tone,) and a middling sponge in a little slop-bowl, in which you must keep so much of the water that the sponge may be always very wet.

* This and the other Franklin letters quoted have been taken from Sparks' edition (1840) of the author's works.

In a teacup keep also ready some fine scraped chalk, free from grit, to be used on occasion.

The fingers when you begin to play should not only be wet on the surface, but the skin a little soaked, which is readily done by pressing them hard a few times in the sponge.

The first thing after setting the glasses in motion is to pass the sponge slowly along from the biggest glass to the smallest, suffering it to rest on each glass during at least one revolution of the glasses, whereby they will all be made moderately wet. If too much water is left on them, they will not sound so readily.

If the instrument is near a window, let the window be shut or the curtain drawn, as wind or sunshine on the glasses dries them too fast.

When these particulars are all attended to, and the directions observed, the tone comes forth finely with the slightly pressure of the fingers imaginable, and you swell it at pleasure by adding a little more pressure, no instrument affording more shades, if one may so speak, of the *Forte Piano*.

One wetting with the sponge will serve for a piece of music twice as long as *Handel's Water-piece*, unless the air be uncommonly drying.

But a number of thin slices of sponge, placed side by side, and their ends held fast between two stripes of wood, like rulers, of a length equal to the glasses, and placed so that the loose ends of the sponges may touch the glasses behind, and by that means keep them constantly wet, is very convenient where one proposes to play a long time. The sponges being properly wetted will supply the glasses sufficiently a whole evening, and touching the glasses lightly do not in the least hurt the sound.

The powder of chalk is useful two ways.

Fingers, after much playing, sometimes begin to draw out a tone less smooth and soft, and you feel as well as hear a small degree of sharpness. In this case, if you dip the ends of your wet fingers in the chalk, so as to take up a little, and rub the same well on the skin, it will immediately recover the

smoothness of tone desired. And, if the glasses have been sullied by handling, or the fingers not being just washed have some little greasiness on them, so that the sounds cannot easily be produced, chalk so used will clean both glasses and fingers, and the sounds will come out to your wish.

A little practice will make all this familiar; and you will also find by trials what part of the fingers most readily produces the sound from particular glasses, and whether they require to be touched on the edge chiefly, or a little more on the side; as different glasses require a different touch, some pretty full on the flat side of the brim, to bring out the best tone, others more on the edge, and some of the largest may need the touch of two fingers at once.

Even before Franklin's application of a playing mechanism to the bare principle of the musical glasses, the novelty introduced by the unfortunate Mr. Puckeridge had attained considerable popularity in the fashionable world; a passage in Oliver Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* (published in 1761, most likely the year of Franklin's invention) reports that people "would talk of nothing but high life, and high-lived company; with other fashionable topics, such as pictures, taste, Shakespeare and the musical glasses." Franklin's invention elevated the musical glasses from the status of a mere novelty to that of a genuine musical instrument. Though relatively few armonicass can actually have been made, those few were heard in many parts of the Western musical world. Philadelphia was not long in having an opportunity to enjoy the handiwork of its leading citizen, for an advertisement in *The Pennsylvania Gazette* of December 27, 1764, announces:

For the Benefit of Mr. Forage, and other Assistant Performers at the Subscription Concert in this city, on Monday,

Nº 3. Melodram.

Feierlich doch nicht schleppend.

Harmonika.

p Du, dem sie gewunden, es waren dein zwei Blumen für Liebe und Treue.

anhalten während der Worte: Jetzt kann ich nur Todtenblumen dir weihn. doch wachsen an meinem Leichenstein

anhalten während der Worte: die Lilie und Rose auf's neue.

SOLO PIECE FOR ARMONICA BY BEETHOVEN

Written in 1814 or 1815 as part of the incidental music to Duncker's *Leonora Prohaska*. Reproduced from the Supplemental Volume to Breitkopf & Härtel's *Ludwig van Beethoven's Werke* (1888).

the 31st. of this instant December, at the Assembly Room in Lodge Alley, will be performed A CONCERT OF MUSIC: consisting of a Variety of the most celebrated Pieces now in Taste, in which also will be introduced the famous Armonica, or Musical Glasses, so much admired for the great Sweetness and Delicacy of its Tone. Tickets at 7s. 6d. each.

It was probably this sweetness and delicacy of tone that was primarily responsible for the tremendous vogue enjoyed by the armonica during the "early romantic" decades of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Mozart and Beethoven are but two of the better-known composers who wrote works especially for the instrument. Nor was Franklin's mechanism the final attempt at improvement upon the basic idea; another famous Philadelphian, Francis Hopkinson, was one of several who attempted to apply a keyboard to the armonica. That all these improvements failed to have any far-reaching effect, that the instrument itself fell out of fashion almost as quickly as it had fallen in, no doubt is due largely to the fact that the tone of the armonica was too monotonously ethereal, that its playing technique was too inflexible to satisfy the demands of full-blown romanticism for eloquence and variety of expression. It also has been said that the instrument fell into disuse because of its injurious effects upon the nerves of its performers.*

Clever as was Franklin's invention of a playing mechanism for the musical glasses, it hardly seems as remarkable today as do his ideas on the psychology and esthetics of music. Like his remarks on the nature of colds, or on the composition of the earth, or on practically

* O. G. Sonneck, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

ion, that the reason why the Scotch tunes have lived so long, and will probably live for ever (if they escape being stifled in modern affected ornament), is merely this, that they are really compositions of melody and harmony united, or rather that their melody is harmony. I mean the simple tunes sung by a single voice. As this will appear paradoxical, I must explain my meaning. In common acceptation, indeed, only an agreeable *succession* of sounds is called *Melody*, and only the *co-existence* of agreeing sounds, *Harmony*. But, since the memory is capable of retaining for some moments a perfect idea of the pitch of a past sound, so as to compare with it the pitch of a succeeding sound, and judge truly of their agreement or disagreement, there may and does arise from thence a sense of harmony between the present and past sounds, equally pleasing with that between two present sounds.

Now the construction of the old Scotch tunes is this, that almost every succeeding *emphatical* note is a third, a fifth, an octave, or in short some note that is in concord with the preceding note. Thirds are chiefly used, which are very pleasing concords. I use the word *emphatical* to distinguish those notes which have a stress laid on them in singing the tune, from the lighter connecting notes, that serve merely, like grammar articles in common speech, to tack the whole together.

That we have a most perfect idea of a sound just past, I might appeal to all acquainted with music, who know how easy it is to repeat a sound in the same pitch with one just heard. In tuning an instrument, a good ear can as easily determine that two strings are in unison by sounding them separately, as by sounding them together; their disagreement is also as easily, I believe I may say more easily and better distinguished, when sounded separately; for when sounded together, though you know by the beating that one is higher than the other, you cannot tell which it is. I have ascribed to memory the ability of comparing the pitch of a present tone with that of one past. But, if there should be, as possibly there may be,

something in the ear, similar to what we find in the eye, that ability would not be entirely owing to memory. Possibly the vibrations given to the auditory nerves by a particular sound may actually continue some time after the cause of those vibrations is past, and the agreement or disagreement of a subsequent sound become by comparison with them more discernible. For the impression made on the visual nerves by a luminous object will continue for twenty or thirty seconds. Sitting in a room, look earnestly at the middle of a window a little while when the day is bright, and then shut your eyes; the figure of the window will still remain in the eye, and so distinct that you may count the panes.

* * *

Farther, when we consider by whom these ancient tunes were composed, and how they were first performed, we shall see that such harmonical succession of sounds was natural and even necessary in their construction. They were composed by the minstrels of those days to be played on the harp accompanied by the voice. The harp was strung with wire, which gives a sound of long continuance, and had no contrivance, like that in the modern harpsichord, by which the sound of the preceding could be stoppt, the moment a succeeding note began. To avoid actual discord, it was therefore necessary that the succeeding emphatic note should be a chord with the preceding, as their sounds must exist at the same time. Hence, arose that beauty in those tunes that has so long pleased, and will please for ever, though men scarce know why. That they were originally composed for the harp, and of the most simple kind, I mean a harp without any half notes but those in the natural scale, and with no more than two octaves of strings, from C to C, I conjecture from another circumstance, which is, that not one of those tunes, really ancient, has a single artificial half note in it, and that in tunes where it was most convenient for the voice to use the middle notes of the harp, and place the key in F, there the B, which if used should be a B flat, is always omitted, by passing over it with a third.

The connoisseurs in modern music will say, I have no taste; but I cannot help adding, that I believe our ancestors, in hearing a good song, distinctly articulated, sung to one of those tunes, and accompanied by the harp, felt more real pleasure than is communicated by the generality of modern operas, exclusive of that arising from the scenery and dancing. Most tunes of late composition, not having this natural harmony united with their melody, have recourse to the artificial harmony of a bass, and other accompanying parts. This support, in my opinion, the old tunes do not need, and are rather confused than aided by it. Whoever has heard James Oswald play them on his violoncello, will be less inclined to dispute this with me. I have more than once seen tears of pleasure in the eyes of his auditors; and yet, I think, even *his* playing those tunes would please more, if he gave them less modern ornament . . .

The other letter, undated but thought also to have been written at London in 1765,* is addressed to Peter Franklin, who at a late age had composed a ballad and sent it to Benjamin for his aid in having it set to music:

Dear Brother,

I like your ballad, and think it well adapted for your purpose of discountenancing expensive foppery, and encouraging industry and frugality. If you can get it generally sung in your country, it may probably have a good deal of the effect you hope and expect from it. But, as you aimed at making it general, I wonder you chose so uncommon a measure in poetry, that none of the tunes in common use will suit it. Had you fitted it to an old one, well known, it must have spread much faster than I doubt it will do from the best new tune we can get composed for it. I think, too, that if you had given it to some country girl in the heart of Massachusetts, who has never heard any other than psalm tunes, or *Chevy Chase*,

* O. G. Sonneck, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

the *Children in the Wood*, the *Spanish Lady*, and such old simple ditties, but has naturally a good ear, she might more probably have made a pleasing popular tune for you, than any of our masters here, and more proper for your purpose, which would best be answered, if every word could as it is sung be understood by all that hear it, and if the emphasis you intend for particular words could be given by the singer as well as by the reader; much of the force and impression of the song depending on those circumstances. I will however get it as well done for you as I can.

Do not imagine that I mean to depreciate the skill of our composers of music here; they are admirable at pleasing *practised* ears, and know how to delight *one another*; but, in composing for songs, the reigning taste seems to be quite out of nature, or rather the reverse of nature, and yet, like a torrent, hurries them all away with it; one or two perhaps only excepted.

You, in the spirit of some ancient legislators, would influence the manners of your country by the united powers of poetry and music. By what I can learn of *their* songs, the music was simple, conformed itself to the usual pronunciation of words, as to measure, cadence or emphasis, &c., never disguised and confounded the language by making a long syllable short, or a short one long, when sung; their singing was only a more pleasing, because a melodious manner of speaking; it was capable of all the graces of prose oratory, while it added the pleasure of harmony. A modern song, on the contrary, neglects all the proprieties and beauties of common speech, and in their place introduces its *defects* and *absurdities* as so many graces. I am afraid you will hardly take my word for this, and therefore I must endeavour to support it by proof. Here is the first song I lay my hand on. It happens to be a composition of one of our greatest masters, the ever-famous Handel. It is not one of his juvenile performances, before his taste could be improved and formed: It appeared when his reputation was at the highest, is greatly admired by all his admirers, and is really excellent in its kind. It is called, "*The additional Favourite Song in Judas Maccabeus.*" Now

I reckon among the defects and improprieties of common speech, the following, viz.

1. *Wrong placing the accent or emphasis*, by laying it on words of no importance, or on wrong syllables.

2. *Drawling*; or extending the sound of words or syllables beyond their natural length.

3. *Stuttering*; or making many syllables of one.

4. *Unintelligibleness*; the result of the three foregoing united.

5. *Tautology*; and

6. *Screaming*, without cause.

For the *wrong placing of the accent, or emphasis*, see it on the word *their* instead of being on the word *vain*.



And on the word *from*, and the wrong syllable *like*.



For the *drawling*, see the last syllable of the word *wounded*.



And in the syllable *wis*, and the word *from*, and syllable *bove*.



For the *stuttering*, see the words *ne'er* relieve, in



Here are four syllables made of one, and eight of three; but this is moderate. I have seen in another song, that I cannot now find, seventeen syllables made of three, and sixteen of one. The latter I remember was the word *charms*; viz. *cha, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, a, arms*. Stammering with a witness!

For the *unintelligibleness*; give this whole song to any taught singer, and let her sing it to any company that have never heard it; you shall find they will not understand three words in ten. It is therefore, that, at the oratorios and operas, one sees with books in their hands all those who desire to understand what they hear sung by even our best performers.

For the *Tautology*; you have, *with their vain mysterious art*, twice repeated; *magic charms can ne-er relieve you*, three times. *Nor can heal the wounded heart*, three times. *God-like wisdom from above* twice; and, *this alone can ne'er deceive you*, two or three times. But this is reasonable when compared with *the Monster Polypheme, the Monster Polypheme*, a hundred times over and over, in his admired *Acis and Galatea*.

As to the *screaming*; perhaps I cannot find a fair instance in this song; But whoever has frequented our operas will remember many. And yet here methinks the words *no* and *e'er*, when sung to these notes, have a little of the air of *screaming*, and would actually be *screamed* by some singers.



I send you inclosed the song with its music at length. Read the words without the repetitions. Observe how few they are, and what a shower of notes attend them; you will

then perhaps be inclined to think with me, that though the words might be the principal part of an ancient song, they are of small importance in a modern one; they are in short only a *pretence for singing*.

I am, as ever,

Your affectionate brother,

B. FRANKLIN

P. S. I might have mentioned *inarticulation* among the defects in common speech, that are assumed as beauties in modern singing. But, as that seems more the fault of the singer than of the composer, I omitted it in what related merely to the composition. The fine singer, in the present mode, stifles all the hard consonants, and polishes away all the rougher parts of words that serve to distinguish them one from another; so that you hear nothing but an admirable pipe, and understand no more of the song, than you would from its tune played on any other instrument. If ever it was the ambition of musicians to make instruments that should imitate the human voice, that ambition seems now reversed, the voice aiming to be like an instrument. Thus wigs were first made to imitate a good natural head of hair; but when they became fashionable, though in unnatural forms, we have seen natural hair dressed to look like wigs.

The present "connoisseurs in modern music" would hardly dare say that the writer of the above letters had no taste. It may be that, in his emphasis on clarity and simplicity in vocal music, in his preference for familiar folk melodies over newly-composed operatic music, the venerable esthetician was merely voicing the layman's age-old plea against the "artificial" standards of the professional musician. On the other hand, it may be that he was more or less consciously preaching a Rousseau-like naturalism. So far as dramatic music was concerned, such a doctrine was not entirely new. The ludicrous extremes of both dramatic and musical artificiality present in Italian opera had been satirized by Benedetto Marcello

as early as 1720, in his pamphlet *Il teatro alla moda*. In 1762, three years prior to the date of Franklin's remarks, Christoph Willibald von Gluck had entered upon his far-reaching reformation of opera with the production of *Orfeo ed Euridice*; four years after Franklin's letters, Gluck published his famous *Preface to Alceste*, in which he declared: ". . . I resolved to avoid all those abuses which had crept into Italian opera . . . which had rendered it wearisome and ridiculous . . ."

It would be interesting to know what connection, if any, existed between the ideas of Franklin and the theories being developed contemporaneously by Gluck, Rousseau, and others. It must be admitted, however, that there need have been none whatsoever. Franklin's down-to-earth, common-sense turn of mind, over-emphasized though it may have been at times, certainly was real enough to explain his particular viewpoint toward music, and the extremes to which he went in attacking any complexities in melody or harmony smack of the amateur rather than of the experienced musician. The striking thing about Franklin's ideas is not that in some respects they verged on extremes but that essentially they were sound and in accord with the most advanced ideas of contemporary theoreticians. Just as his ingenious observations on the psychology of melody and harmony anticipated the findings of Helmholtz and later acousticians, Franklin's pleas for naturalness and sincerity in music sounded keynotes that have been echoed in practically all musical philosophies of the last century and a half. The modern connoisseurs must indeed credit Benjamin Franklin with musical taste—taste untutored and lacking in breadth, perhaps, but nevertheless pure and free from the taint of fashion, the product of a unique mind.

W. L.

SONGS OF FREEMASONRY IN COLONIAL
PENNSYLVANIA



FRONTISPIECE FROM
 "ANDERSON'S CONSTITUTIONS OF 1723"

Representing the Duke of Montagu, first Grand Master of Grand Lodge Masonry, entrusting the Constitutions to his successor, the Duke of Wharton (see p. 482).

SONGS OF FREEMASONRY IN COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA

On the Day of St. John the Baptist, June 24, in the year 1717, the members of four London lodges of the Ancient and Right Worshipful Fraternity of Free-Masons met and formed the Grand Lodge of England, thereby instituting Free-Masonry in its modern form. For centuries—some say since the building of Solomon's Temple—the workers of miracles in brick and stone had been wont to form themselves into guilds for the cultivation and preservation of their especial traditions. Throughout the feudal centuries, when communications between people of different regions were difficult and there was no strong, centralized political authority, these guilds remained on a local basis, though their function came to serve more and more a social purpose only distantly related to the business of masonry. Now, in keeping with the heightening of national consciousness, the lodges of British Masonry united under a grand lodge system that soon spread to the English colonies and was emulated in other nations of the Western world.

One of the chief needs felt by the newly-organized Grand Lodge of England was for a new and unifying constitution to supplant the diverse "Old Gothic Constitution" which had survived in various lodges from an earlier day. The man who played the chief roll in filling this need was Brother James Anderson, A.M., an Aberdeen cleric then resident in London. Brother Anderson's professional integrity seems to have been open to some question, and his handiwork itself—though published

with approval of the Grand Lodge authorities—met with a mixed response both within Masonry and without.* The fact remains, nevertheless, that *The Constitutions of the Free-Masons Containing the History, Charges, Regulations, &c. of that Most Ancient and Right Worshipful Fraternity*, printed by William Hunter in London, 1723, is the most important single document in the history of Freemasonry. The first Masonic book printed from type, it was also the first book representing the authority of organized Freemasonry. Its *Regulations*, “digested” by Anderson from existing constitutions, have served as the foundation of Masonic law for more than two centuries. Musically speaking, the work is of supreme importance for the reason that its final pages comprise the texts and fragments of music for four songs intended “for the Use of the Lodges.” The earliest Masonic songs known in print, these songs were also the first written for and recommended by the Grand Lodge for general use in the subordinate lodges.

With the spread of Grand Lodge Masonry throughout the English-speaking world, “Anderson’s Constitutions of 1723” became the holy writ of Freemasonry. In America, the book was of especial importance in Pennsylvania, where it was reprinted by Benjamin Franklin in 1734. Even after 1738, when Anderson brought out a new edition correcting some of his earlier errors and introducing several new songs, it was Benjamin Franklin’s reprint of 1734 that served as final authority in American lodges.† The four songs reprinted there (to which

*Lionel Vibert, *Anderson’s Constitutions of 1723*, Washington, D. C., Masonic Service Association of the U. S., 1924, pp. 5-9.

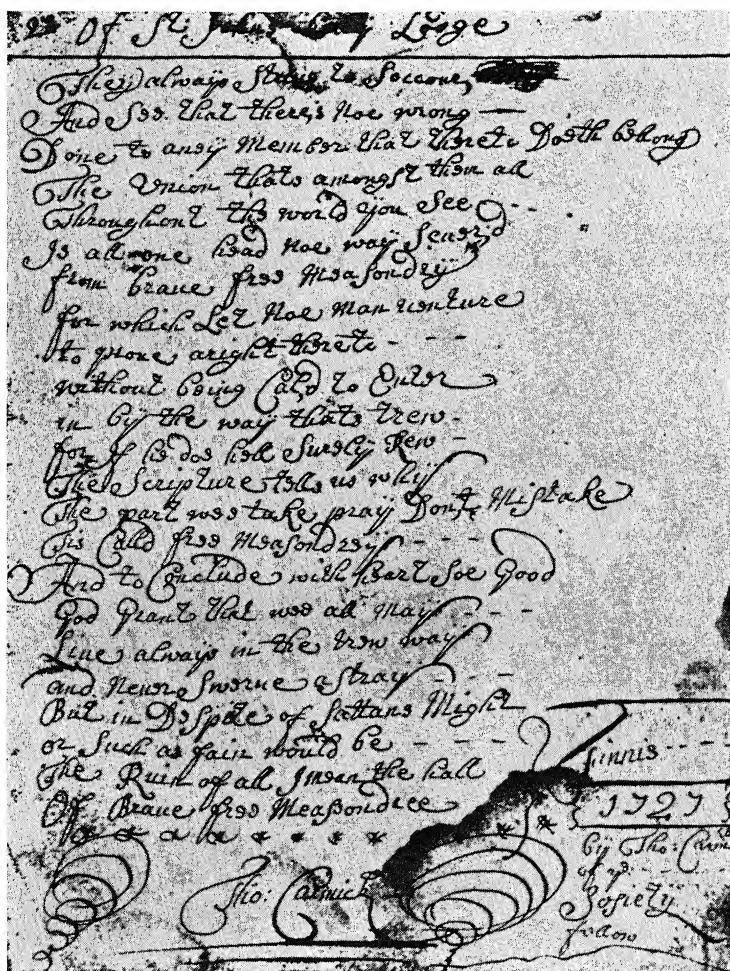
†For valuable information regarding this point and many other features of Masonry in Pennsylvania the writer is indebted to Dr. J. E. Burnett Buckenham of Philadelphia.

Franklin added a fifth) formed the basis of singing in the colonial lodges for decades, and one of them at least has been sung in modern times.

Before proceeding to a discussion of those songs we might observe that they are not of a certainty the earliest Masonic songs known in Pennsylvania. Masonry in that state dates its incorporation in Grand Lodge Masonry only from June 5, 1730, but for some time before that date Philadelphia had been the seat of St. John's Lodge, an organization functioning under the old system of "time immemorial" lodges.* One of the cherished relics preserved today in the Library of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania is a manuscript copy of the "Old Charges" proper to "St. John's Lodge," a copy signed "1727/by Tho: Carmick/of ye/Society/fellow." At the conclusion of the manuscript appear six stanzas of a song, introduced by the statement "This Song Belongs to the Society of St. John's Lodge." Whether the St. John's Lodge concerned was that of Philadelphia or whether the manuscript was brought across the ocean from one of the St. John's Lodges in England has never been definitely established, since the manuscript itself bears no local identification of any kind and since the incomplete genealogies of the Carmick family fail to mention a Thomas Carmick at Philadelphia in that period.† Even without absolute proof of its connection with early Masonry in Pennsylvania, however, the Thomas Carmick Manuscript is important as one of the few remaining "Old Charges," and the *Song of St. John's Lodge* is practically unique as an example of a pre-Grand Lodge Masonic song:

* Henry S. Borneman, *Early Freemasonry in Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, The Grand Lodge of F. & A. M. of Pennsylvania, 1931, pp. 79, 81, 16.

† Henry S. Borneman, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.



ST. JOHN'S LODGE

the facsimile in Sachse's *Constitutions of St. John's Lodge*.

THIS SONG BELONGS TO THE SOCIETY OF
ST. JOHNS HOLY LODGE

Of all the world a part, it is Inferd,
Not Knowing how to find
The Truth and Sceyance of what is ment
by this Glorious art Devine;
They all Complean; yet Cant attain
Unto that mistery:—
An antient State that is soe Compleat.
Tis Cald free Measondry.

It is Much wondered at by all,
how Kings of high Rennown
That Came unto this glorious art
hath Laid theire Scepters Down.
But that is Due, and More Likewise,
as you may plainly See,
Unto that part and Gloryous art
Tis Cald free Measondry.

Noe Prince this Day in Europe
Would the same Disdain;
Nor in aney wise the Same Dispise;
but the Rights thereof Mintain.
Great Lords and Dukes and Monarghs
Obedient are, you See,
Unto all those that are not foes
Unto free Measondry.

They always Strive to Soccour,
And See that there's noe wrong
Done to aney Member that thereto doeth belong.
The Union thats amongst them all
Throughout the world, you See,
Is all one head; noe way Sever'd
from brave free Measondry.

for which Let Noe Man venture
 to prove aright thereto,
 Without being Cal'd to Enter
 in by the way that's trew;
 For If he doe, he'll Surely Rew.
 The Scripture tells us why.
 The part wee take, pray Don't Mistake,
 Tis Calld free Measondree.

And to Conclude: With heart Soe Good,
 God Grant, that wee all May
 Live always in the trew way;
 And Never Swerve astray;
 But in Despite of Sattans Might
 or Such as fain would be
 The Ruin of all—I mean the hall
 Of Brave free Measondree.

Tho: Carmick.

Finnis

1727

by Tho: Carmick
 of ye
 Society
 fellow.

While it is not entirely clear whether the mysterious Thomas Carmick was the author or merely the copyist of *The Song of St. John's Holy Lodge*, and while there is no indication as to the music with which it may have been sung, we are much better informed regarding the songs reprinted by Franklin from "Anderson's Constitutions of 1723." In the original edition, the author of each song is indicated in its title, though Franklin for some reason omitted "by the author" in reprinting the first two, thereby reassigning them from Anderson to an unwarranted anonymity. Franklin also failed to reprint—no doubt because he lacked music type or facilities for music engraving—the musical portions of the 1723 edition.

Since it is fortunately possible to reproduce here in their entirety the texts* of these songs as they were printed by Franklin, as well as the musical passages† which Franklin omitted, little descriptive comment concerning the songs is necessary. The first and longest is *The Master's Song*, a "History of Masonry" in ballad form written by Anderson sometime prior to June 25, 1722, the date when the Duke of Montagu was succeeded by the Duke of Wharton as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England.‡ *The Warden's Song; or another History of Masonry* was written by the same author some time after that date in honor of the new Grand Master. No doubt the metrical patterns of both ballads were chosen with an eye to their being sung to certain well-known tunes of the day, though there is no hint as to what these tunes may have been. At the same time, the headings of the first two musical excerpts printed (pp. 496, 498) testify that at least portions of these two songs were set—however amateurishly—to original music by unnamed brothers. That the third, or *Fellow-crafts Song*, with text "By our Brother Charles Delafaye, Esq.," was also sung to original music will be seen from the notice appearing at the head of the final, approbatory page following the music pages.

* Reproduced from a complete facsimile of Franklin's 1734 edition issued in 1906 by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.

† Reproduced, through the courtesy of Southern Publishers, Inc., Kingsport, Tennessee, from a complete facsimile of the 1723 *Constitutions* published in 1924 by the Masonic Service Association of Washington, D. C., under the title *Anderson's Constitutions of 1723/With Introduction by Lionel Vibert*. The engraving which appears at the head of this chapter is reproduced from the same source.

‡ Lionel Vibert, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

The fourth, or *Enter'd 'Prentices Song*, was both written and composed by Brother Matthew Birkhead, who had the misfortune to pass away * before his handiwork appeared in print. His song has proved somewhat more enduring, having been sung in the lodges of Pennsylvania, at least, until recent times. As will be seen from the reproduction, the song originally comprised six stanzas. In Anderson's "New Book" of 1738, a seventh stanza was added, one said to have been written by Springett Penn, grandson of William Penn, son of Governor Richard Penn, and a member of the Grand Lodge of Ireland: †

We're true and sincere
And just to the Fair,
Who will trust us on ev'ry occasion:
No mortal can more
The Ladies adore
Than a Free and Accepted Mason.

The *New Song* which concludes Franklin's volume was not taken from the London edition and may be considered a local contribution. The author is unknown, but certainly it does not seem amiss to suggest that it may have been the printer himself. Franklin had become a member of St. John's Grand Lodge in February 1731, and within a month after completing his reprinting of the *Constitutions* he was made Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.‡ The writing of songs—of

* December 30, 1722, according to Vibert, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

† Henry S. Borneman, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

‡ Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, New York, The Viking Press, 1938, p. 132.

words, that is, to be sung to some already familiar tune—was not at all new to Franklin,* and the fact that he failed to name the author is in itself significant. Whoever the author may have been, the song must have found some favor, for it was republished in the *Ahimon Rezon* † of 1781, with an indication that it was to be sung to the tune of “What tho’ they call me country lass.”

Because of the unique interest they hold for students of Masonry in general, rather than because of any known relationship with Masonry in colonial Pennsylvania, the two *Chansons maçonnnes par le frère Américain* referred to in the preceding chapter (p. 450) are here reproduced, together with the title page of the volume in which they appear, as an appendix to the foregoing material. The question of the identity of the “American brother” is a tantalizing one, but it must be emphasized that there is no sure indication that the author was from the English colonies, much less that he was Benjamin Franklin. The songs might have been written by some French-Canadian, or by someone who had returned to France after residence in America. In the 1785 edition of the *Apologie*, published at The Hague by P. F. Gosse, the words “par le frère Américain” have been deleted, so that the phrase in the first edition may even have been erroneous.

The reproduction of these pages has been made from the copy in the Music Division of the Library of Congress, the only copy of the 1742 edition known at the present time.

W. L.

* See p. 450 of this volume.

† The Book of Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, revised from the earlier English Constitutions by Dr. William Smith in order to do away with references to British royalty and other undemocratic features.

[83]

T H E

Master's SONG.

O R T H E

HISTORY of MASONRY.

To be sung with a Chorus, when the MASTER shall give Leave (*no Brethren being present to whom Singing is disagreeable*) either one Part only, or all together, as he pleases.

P A R T I.

I.

ADAM, the first of humane Kind,
Created with GEOMETRY
Imprinted on his Royal Mind,
Instructed soon his Progeny
CAIN & SETH, who then improv'd
The lib'ral Science in the Art
Of Architecture, which they lov'd,
And to their Offspring did impart.

II.

CAIN a City fair and strong
First built, and call'd it Consecrate,
From Enoch's Name, his eldest Son,
Which all his Race did imitate :
But godly ENOCH, of Seth's Loins,
Two Columns rais'd with mighty
And all his Family enjoins (Skill :
True Colonading to fulfill.

III.

Our Father NOAH next appear'd
A Mason too divinely taught ;
And by divine Command uprear'd
The ARK, that held a goodly
(Fraught :
Twas built by true Geometry,
A Piece of Architecture fine,
Help'd by his Sons, in number THREE,
Concurring in the grand Design.

IV.

So from the gen'ral Deluge none
Were sav'd, but *Masons* and their
(Wives ;
And all Mankind from them alone
Descending, Architecture thrives ;
For they, when multiply'd amain,
Fit to disperse and fill the Earth,
In SHINAR's large & lovely Plain
To MASONRY gave second Birth.

V.

For most of Mankind were employ'd,
To build the City and the Tow'r ;
The Gen'ral Lodge was overjoy'd,
In such Effects of *Masons* Pow'r ;
'Till vain Ambition did provoke
Their Maker to confound their Plot ;
Yet tho' with Tongues confus'd they
(spoke,

The learned Art they ne'er forgot.

CHORUS

Who can unfold the Royal Art ?
Or sing its Secrets in a Song ?
They're safely kept in *Masons* HEART
And to the ancient Lodge belong.

[Stop here to drink the present GRAND-
MASTER's Health.

84

PART II.

I.
THUS when from **BABEL** they
 (disperic
 In Colonies to distant Climes,
 All *Masons* true, who could rehearse
 Their Works to those of after
 (Times ;
 King **NIMROD** fortify'd his Realm,
 By Castles, Tow'rs, and Cities fair ;
MITZRAIM, who rul'd at *Egypt's*
 (Helm,
 Built *Pyramids* stupendous there.

II.
 Nor **JAPHET**, and his gallant Breed,
 Did less in *Masonry* prevail ;
 Nor **SHEM**, and those that did
 (succeed
 To promis'd Blessings by Entail :
 For Father **ABRAM** brought from *UR*
Geometry, the Science good ;
 Which he reveal'd, without demur,
 To all descending from his Blood.

III.
 Nay **JACOB**'s Race at length were
 (taught,
 To lay aside the Shepherd's Crook,
 To use *Geometry* were brought,
 Whilst under *Pharaoh's* cruel Yoke,
 Till **MOSES** *Master-Mason* rose,
 And led the **HOLY LODGE** from
 (thence,
 All *Masons* train'd, to whom he chose,
 His curious Learning to dispense.

IV.
AHOLIAB and **BEZALEEL**,
 Inspired Men the **TENT** uprear'd ;
 Where the *Shechemah* chose to dwell,
 And *Geometrick Skill* appear'd :

And when these valiant *Masons* fill'd
Canaan, the learn'd **PHENICIANS**
 (knew
 The Tribes of *Isra'l* better skil'd
 In *Architecture* firm and true

V.
 For **DAGON**'s House in *Gaza* Town,
 Artfully propt by **COLUMNS**
 (new ;
 By **SAMSON**'s mighty Arms pull'd
 (down
 On *Lords Philistia*, whom it flew ;
 Tho' 'twas the fiend's Fabrick rais'd
 By *Canaan's* Sons, could not com-
 (pare
 With the Creator's *Temple* prais'd,
 For glorious Strength and Structure
 (fair.

VI.
 But here we stop a while to toast
 Our **MASTER**'s Health and
 (Wardens both ;
 And warn you all to shun the Coast
 Of *Samson's* Shipwreck'd Fame and
 (Truth.
 His *Secrets* once to **WIFE** disclos'd
 His Strength was fled, his Courage
 (tam'd
 To cruel Foes he was expos'd,
 And never was a *Mason* nam'd.

CHORUS
*Who can unfold the Royal Art ?
 - Or sing its Secrets in a Song ?
 They're safely kept in Masons HEART,
 And to the ancient Lodge belong*

[Stop Here to drink the Health of the
 Master and Wardens of this parti-
 cular Lodge.

PART

❖ [85] ❖
P A R T III.

I.
WE King of MASON'S ancient
(Fame
When *four score Thousand Craftsmen*
(stood,
Under the MASTERS of great Name
Three Thousand and six Hundred
(good,
Employ'd by SOLOMON the *Sire*
And Gen'ral MASTER MASON
(too;
As HIRAM was in stately Tyre,
Like Salem built by *Masens true*.

II.
The Royal Art was then divine,
The *Craftsmen* counsell'd from
(above,
The Temple did all Works outshine,
The wond'ring World did all
(approve,
Ingenious Men, from every Place,
Came to survey the glorious *Pile*;
And, when return'd, began to trace,
And imitate its lofty *Style*.

III.
At length the GRECIANS came to
(know
Geometry, and learnt the Art,
Which great PYTHAGORAS did
(show,
And Glorious EUCLID did im-
(part;
Th' amazing ARCHIMEDES too,
And many other Scholars good;
Till ancient ROMANS did review
The Art, and Science understood.

IV.
But when proud ASIA they had quell'd,
And GREECE and EGYPT
(overcome,
In Architecture they excell'd,
And brought the Learning all to
(ROME,

Where wise VITRUVIUS, *Master*
(prime
Of Architects, the Art improv'd;
In Great AUGUSTUS' peaceful Time,
When Arts and Artists were be-
(lov'd

V.
They brought the Knowledge from
(the East;
And as they made the Nations
(yield,
They spread it thro' the North and
(West,
And taught the World the Art to
(build,
Witness their *Cradels* and *Towers*,
To fortify their Legions fine,
Their Temples, Palaces, and *Bow'rs*,
That spoke the Masons GRAND
(DESIGN.

VI.
Thus mighty *Eastern Kings*, and some
Of *Abram's Race*, and Monarchs
(good
Of Egypt, Syria, Greece, and Rome,
True Architecture understood:
No wonder then if *Masons* join,
To celebrate those *Mason-Kings*,
With solemn Noce and flowing Wine,
Whilst ev'ry Brother jointly sings,

C H O R U S.
Who can unfold the Royal Art?
Or sing its Secrets in a Song?
They're safely kept in Mason's Heart,
And to the ancient Lodge belong.

*I Stop here to drink to the glorious Me-
mory of Emperors, Kings, Princes,
Nobles, Gentry, Clergy, and learn-
ed Scholars that ever propagated the
Art.*

P A R T

❁ [86] ❁
P A R T IV.

I.

O! glorious Days for *Masons* wife,
O'er all the *Roman Empire* when
Their *Fame*, resounding to the Skies,
Proclaim'd them good and useful
(Men;

For many Ages thus employ'd,
Until the *Goths*, with warlike Rage,
And brutal Ignorance, destroy'd
The Toil of many a learned Age.

II

But when the conqu'ring *Goths* were
(brought
Tembrace the *Christian Faith*, they
(found

The Folly that their Fathers wrought,
In loss of *Architecture* sound.
At length their Zeal for stately *Fanes*,
And wealthy Grandeur, when at
(Peace,

Made them exert their utmost Pains,
Their *Gothic Buildings* to up-raise,

III.

Thus many a sumptuous lofty Pile
Was rais'd in every *Christian Land*,
That not conform to *Roman Style*,
Yet which did *Reverence* command:
The King and Craft agreeing still,
In well-form'd Lodges to supply
The mournful Want of *Roman Skill*
With their new sort of *Masonry*.

IV.

For many Ages this prevails,
Their Work is *Architecture* deem'd;
In *England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales*,
The *Craftsmen* highly are esteem'd,

By Kings, as *Masters* of the Lodge,
By many a wealthy noble Peer,
By Lord and Laird, by Priest and
(Judge;
By all the People every where.

V.

So *Masons ancient Records* tell,
King *Attila*, of *Saxon Blood*,
Gave them a Charter free to dwell
In *Lafy Lodge*, with Orders good,
Drawn from old Writings by his Son,
Prince *Edwin*, General Master bright,
Who met at *Tork* the Brethren soon,
And to that Lodge did all retire.

VI

Thence were their *ss* and *Charges*
(fine
In ev'ry Reign observ'd with Care
Of *Saxon, Danish, Norman Line*.
Till *British Crowns* united were:
The Monarch First of this whole Isle
Was learn'd *James* a *Mason King*,
Who first of Kings reviv'd the Style
Of great *Augustus*: therefore sing.

CHORUS.

Who can unfold the Royal Art?
Or sing its Secrets in a Song?
They're safely kept in *Mason's Heart*,
And to the ancient Lodge belong.

[Stop here to drink to the happy Memory
of all the Revivers of the ancient *Augustan Style*.]

PART

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PART V.

I.

THUS tho' in *Italy* the Art
From *Gothick Rubbys* first was
(rais'd;
And great *Palladio* did impart
A Style by *Masons* justly prais'd:
Yet here his mighty Rival *Jones*,
Of *British Architects* the prime,
Did build such glorious Heaps of
(Stones,
As ne'er were match'd since *Cæsar's*
(Time.

II.

King *Charles* the first, a *Mason* too,
With several Peers and wealthy
(Men,
Employ'd him & his Craftsmen true,
Till wretched Civil Wars began.
But after Peace and Crown restor'd
Tho' *London* was in Ashes laid,
By *Masons* Art and good Accord,
A finer *London* rear'd its Head.

III.

King *Charles* the second rais'd then
The finest Column upon Earth,
Founded *St. Paul's*, that stately *Fane*,
And Royal Change, with Joy and
(Mirth:
But afterwards the *Lodges* fail'd;
Till great *Nassau* the Fast reviv'd,
Whose bright Example so prevail'd
That ever since the Art has thriv'd.

IV.

Let other Nations boast at will,
Great Britain now will yield to
For true Geometry and Skill, (none,
In building Timber, Brick and
(Stone;
For *Architecture* of each sort,
For curious *Lodges*, where we find
The Noble and the *Wise* resort,
And drink with Craftsmen true and
(kind.

V.

Then let good Brethren all rejoice,
And fill their Glasses with cheerful
(Heart;
Let them express with grateful Voice
The Praises of the wondrous Art:
Let ev'ry Brother's Health go round,
Not Fool or Knave but *Mason* true;
And let our *Master's* Fame resound,
The noble *Duke of MONTAGU*.

CHORUS.

Who can unfold the Royal Art?
Or sing its Secrets in a Song?
They're safely kept in *Mason's* Heart,
And to the ancient Lodge belong.

THE

♣[88]♣

THE
Warden's Song;
OR ANOTHER
HISTORY of MASONRY.

COMPOS D

Since the most noble Prince PHILIP Duke of WHAR-
TON was chosen GRAND-MASTER.

To be sung and play'd at the *Quarterly Communication*.

I.
WHEN e'er we are alone,
And ev'ry *Stranger* gone,
In Summer, Autumn, Winter, Spring,
Begin to play, begin to sing,
The mighty *Genius* of the lofty Lodge,
In ev'ry Age
That did engage
And well inspir'd the Prince, the
(Priest, the Judge,
The Noble and the Wife to join
In rearing *Majus Grand Deign*.

II.
The *Grand Deign* to rear,
Was ever *Adam's* Care,
From *Adam* down before the Flood,
Whole *Art* old *Nash* understood,
And did impart to *Japhet*, *Seth* and
Who taught their Race (*Ham*,
To build spaces
Proud *Babel's* Town and Tow'r, un-
(*til* it came
To be admir'd too much, and then
Dispers'd were the Sons of *Men*.

III.
But tho' their Tongues confus'd
In distant Climes they us'd,
They brought from *Shinar* Orders
(good,
To rear the *Art* they understood :
Therefore sing first the Princes of the
Next *Belus* great, (*Ilus* ;
Who fixt his Seat
In old *Assyria*, building stately Piles ;
And *Mizzraim's* *Pyramids* among
The other Subjects of our Song.

IV.
And *Seth*, who did instil
The useful wondrous *Skill*
Into the Minds of Nations great :
And *Abram* next, who did relate
Th' *Assyrian* Learning to his Sons,
In *Egypt's* Land, (that when
By *Pharaoh's* Hand,
Were soughly taught to be most
(skilful Men ;
Till their *Grand-Master Moses* rose
And them deliver'd from their Foes.

V. Bu

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V.

But who can sing his Praise,
Who did the *Tow* upraise?
Then sing his Workmen true as Steel,
Abelab and *Bekalab*;
Sing *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and *Phoenicians* old,
But *Samson's* Blot
Is ne'er forgot:
He blabb'd his Secrets to his *Wife*, that sold
Her *Husband*, who at last pull'd down
The House on all in *Gaza* Town.

VI.

But *Solomon* the King
With solemn Note we sing,
Who rear'd at length the *Grand Design*,
By Wealth, and Pow'r, and Art divine;
Help'd by the learned *Hiram* *Tyrian Prince*,
By *Craftsmen* good,
That understood
Wife *Hiram* *Abif's* charming Influence:
He aided *Jewish Masters* bright,
Whose curious Works none can recite.

VII.

These glorious *Mason Kings*
Each thankful Brother sings,
Who to its Zenith rais'd the *Art*,
And to all Nations did impart
The useful Skill: For from the *Temple*
To ev'ry Land, (since,
And foreign Strand,
The *Craftsmen* march'd, and taught the
(*Grand Design*;
Of which the *Kings*, with mighty *Peers*,
And learned *Men*, were Overseers.

VIII.

Diana's Temple next,
In *Lesser Asia* fixt;
And *Babylon's* proud *Walls*, the *Seat*
Of *Nebuchadnezzar* the *Great*;
The *Tomb of Mausolus*, the *Carian King*;
With many a *Pile*
Of lofty *Style*
In *Africa* and *Greater Asia*, sing,
In *Greece*, in *Sicily*, and *Rome*,
That had those Nations overcome,

IX.

Then sing *Augustus* too,
The *General Master* true,
Who by *Vitruvius* did refine
And spread the *Masons Grand Design*
Thro' North and West; till ancient *Britons*
The *Royal Art* (chose
In ev'ry Part,
And *Roman Architecture* could disclose,
Until the *Saxons* warlike *Rage*
Destroy'd the Skill of many an Age.

X.

At length the *Gothick Style*
Prevail'd in *Britain's* Isle,
When *Masons Grand Design* reviv'd,
And in their well form'd *Lodges* thriv'd.
Tho' not as formerly in *Roman Days*;
Yet sing the *Flour*
Of *Saxons*, *Danish*,
Of *Sass*, *Welsh*, *Irish*; but sing first
(the *Prails*,
Of *Abelab* and *Ederia Prince*,
Our *Master* of great Influence.



XI.

And eke the *Norman Kings*
 The *British Mason* sings;
 Till *Roman* Style revived there,
 And *British* Crowns united were
 In learned *James*, a *Mason King*, who rais'd
 Five Heaps of *Stones*
 By *Isigo Jones*,
 That rival'd wise *Palladio*, justly prais'd
 In *Italy*, and *Britain* too,
 For *Architecture* firm and true.

XII.

And thence in ev'ry *Reign*
 Did *Masonry* obtain
 With *Kings*, the *Noble* and the *Wife*,
 Whose *Fame* resounding to the *Skies*,
 Excites the present *Age* in *Lodge* to join,
 And *Aprons* wear,
 With *Skill* and *Care*,
 To raise the *Masons* ancient *Grand Design*,
 And to revive th' *Augustan Style*
 In many an artful *glorious Pile*.

XIII.

From henceforth ever sing
 The *Craftsmen* and the *King*,
 With *Poetry* and *Musick* sweet
 Resound their *Harmony* compleat.
 And with *Geometry* in skillful *Hand*,
 Due *Honour* pay,
 Without *Delay*, (Grand
 To *Wharfedale's* noble *Duke* our *Master*.
 He rules the *Free-born Sons of Art*,
 By *Love* and *Friendship*, *Hand* and
 (Heart.

CHORUS.

Who can rehearse the *Praise*,
 In soft *Poetick* *Lays*,
 Or solid *Prose*, of *Masons* *trues*, (View ?
 Whose *Art* transcends the common
 Their *Secrets*, ne'er to *Strangers* yet ex-
 Preserv'd shall be (pos'd,
 By *Masons* *Free*,
 And only to the *ancient Lodge* disclos'd;
 Because they're kept in *Masons* *Hours*
 By *Brethren* of the *Royal Art*.

To fill up this Page, it is thought not amiss to insert here a Paragraph from an old Record of *Masons*, etc. The Company of *Masons*, being otherwise termed *Free Masons*, of ancient Standing and good Reputing, by means of assable and kind Meetings diverse Times, and as a loving Brotherhood should use to doe, did frequent this mutual Assembly in the Time of King Henry V. the 12th Year of his most gracious Reign And the said Record describing a *Coat of Arms*; much the same with That of the LONDON COMPANY of *Free-men Masons*, it is generally believ'd that the said Company is descended of the ancient *Fraternity*; and that in former Times no Man was made free of that Company until he was install'd in some *Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons*, as a necessary Qualification. But that laudable Practice seems to have been long in Disuse. The Brethren in foreign Parts have also discover'd that several noble and ancient *Secrets* and *Orders* of Men have derived their *Charges* and *Regulations* from the *Free-Masons*, (which are now the most ancient Order upon Earth) and perhaps were originally all Members too of the said ancient and worshipful *Fraternity*. But this will more fully appear in due Time.



THE FELLOW-CRAFTS SONG

By our Brother *CHARLES DELAFATE*, Esq

To be sung and play'd at the GRAND-FEAST.

I

HAIL *Masonry*! thou *Craft* divine!
Glory of Earth, from Heav'n re-
(veal'd;
Which dost with Jewels precious shine,
From all but *Masons* Eyes conceal'd.
CHORUS
Thy Praises due who can rehearse
In serious Praise, or flowing Verse?

II

As Men from Brutes distinguish'd are,
A *Mason* other Men excels;
For what's in Knowledge choice and rare
But in his Breast securely dwells!
CHORUS
His silent Breast and faithful Heart
Preserve the Secrets of the Art.

III

From scorching Heat, and piercing Cold,
From Beasts' whose Roar the Forest
(rends;
From the Assaults of Warriors bold-
The *Masons Art* Mankind defends,
CHORUS
Be to this Art due Honours paid,
From which Mankind receives such Aid.

IV

Ensigns of State, that feed our Pride,
Distinctions troublesome, and vain.
By *Masons* true are laid aside:
Art's free-born *Sons* such Toys disdain

CHORUS

Embled by the Name they bear
Distinguished by the Badge they wear

V

Sweet Fellowship, from Envy free:
Friendly Converse of Brotherhood
The *Lodge's* lasting Cement be!
Which has for Ages firmly stood.
CHORUS
A Lodge, thus built, for Ages best
Has lasted, and will ever last.

VI

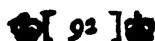
Then in our Songs be Justice done
To those who have enrich'd the *Art*;
From *Yabal* down to *Barlham*,
And let each Brother bear a Part.

CHORUS

*Let noble *Masons* Honours go round.*
Their Praise in lofty Lodge resound.

M 2.

THE



THE Enter'd 'PRENTICES SONG.

By our late BROTHER

Mr. MATTHEW BIRKHEAD, deceas'd.

To be sung when all grave *Enquiries* is over, and with the MASTER's *Levee*

I

COME let us prepare,
We *Brothers* that are
Assembled on merry Occasion :
Let's drink, laugh, and sing ;
Our *Wine* has a Spring :
Here's a Health to an *Accepted Mason*.

II.

The *World* is in pain
Our *Secrets* to gain,
And still let them wonder and gaze on ;
They ne'er can divine
The *Word* or the *Sign*
Of a *Free* and an *Accepted Mason*.

III.

'Tis *This*, and 'tis *That*,
They cannot tell *What*,
Why so many *Great Men* of the Nation
Should *Aprons* put on,
To make themselves one
With a *Free* and an *Accepted Mason*.

IV

Great *Kings*, *Dukes*, and *Lords*,
Have laid by their *Swords*,
Our *Mystery* to put a good *Grace* on,
And ne'er been ashamed
To hear themselves nam'd
With a *Free* and an *Accepted Mason*.

V

Antiquity's *Pride*
We have on our side,
And it maketh *Men* just in their *Station* .
There's nought but what's good
To be understood
By a *Free* and an *Accepted Mason*.

VI.

Then join *Hand in Hand*,
Teach each other firm *Stand*,
Let's be merry, and put a bright *Face* on ;
What *Mortal* can boast
So NOBLE A TOAST,
As a *Free* and an *Accepted Mason*.

A NEW

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A New S O N G.

I.
WHAT though they call us Ma-
(Sons Fools,
 We prove by Geometry and Rules,
 We're Arts are taught in all our Schools;
 They charge us falsely then.
 We make it plainly to appear,
 By our Behaviour every where
 That where you meet a Mason, there
 You meet a Gentleman.

II.
 'Tis true we once have charged been
 With Disobedience to our Queen;
 But after Monarchs plain have seen,
 The Secrets they have sought.
 We hatch no Plots against the State,
 Nor 'gainst great Men in Power state
 But all that's generous, good and great
 Is daily by us taught.

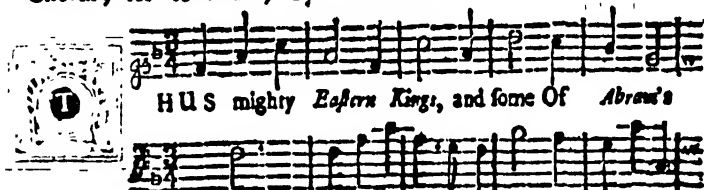
III.
 What noble Structures do we see
 By ancient Brethren raised be!
 The World's surpriz'd, and shall not we
 Then honour Masonry?
 Let those that do despise the Art
 Live in a Cave in some Desert,
 And herd with Beasts from Men spart
 For their Stupidity.

IV.
 View but those Savage Nations, where
 No Masonry did e'er appear,
 What strange unpolish'd Brutes they are
 Then honour Masonry.
 It makes us courteous, easy, free,
 Generous, Honourable, and gay;
 What other Art the like can say?
 Here's a Health to Masonry,



(85)

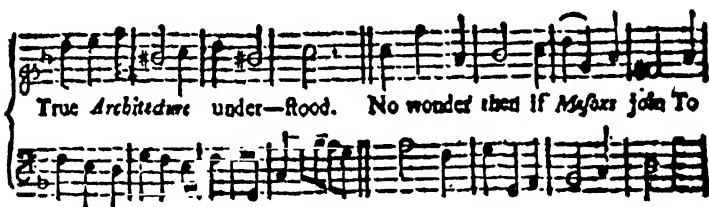
One Verse of the Third Part of the Master's Song, with the
Chorus, set to Music, by a Brother.



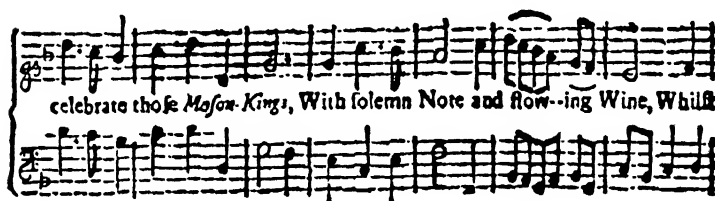
HUS mighty *Eastern Kings*, and some Of *Abram's*



Race, and Monarchs good, Of *Egypt*, . *Syria*, *Greece*, and *Rome*,



True *Architdome* under—stood. No wonder then if *Majors* join To



celebrate those *Majors-Kings*, With solemn Note and flow-ing Wine, Whilst



ev'-ry Bro-ther jointly sing.

M

(86)

CHORUS

Who can un—fold the Roy—al Art? or f—ing its

Who can un—fold the Roy—al Art? or f—ing its

Secrets in a Song? They're safely kept in Ma—sons

Secrets in a Song? They're safely kept in Ma—sons

Hear, And to the ancient Lodge be—long.

Hear, And to the ancient Lodge be—long.

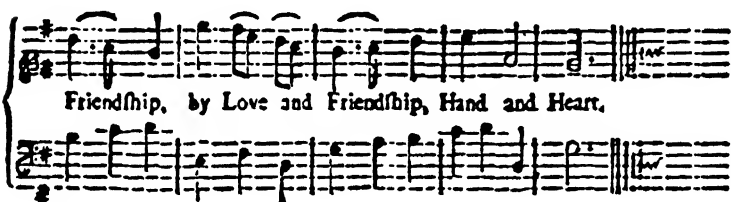
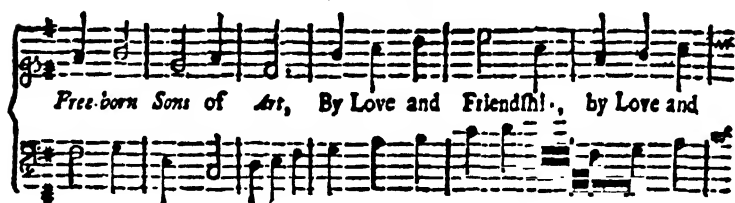
(87)

The last Verse of the Wardens Song, with the Chorus, set to Music,
by a Brother.

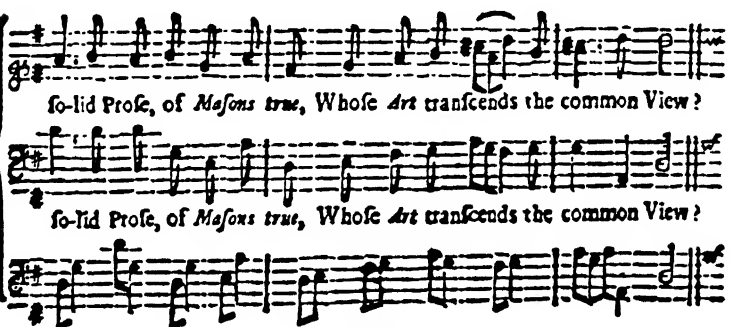
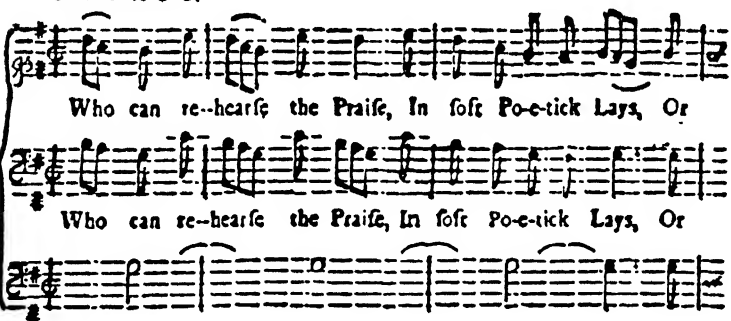


From henceforth e-ver sing The *Craftsman* and the
 King, With *Poetry* and *Musick* sweet Resound their *Har-mo-ny*
 Resound their *Har-mo-ny* complet, And with *Ge-o-me-try*
 in skil-ful Hand, Due *Homage* Pay, Without De-lay,
Little slower. To *Warton's* no-ble Duke our *Majesty* Grand: He rules the

(88)



CHORUS.



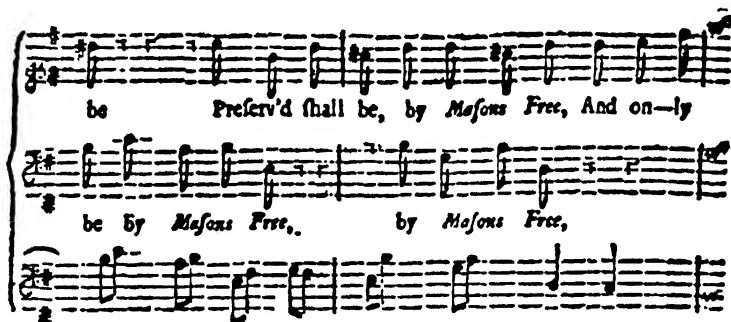
(89)

CHORUS.



Their Secrets, ne'er to Strangers yet expos'd, Preserv'd shall

Their Secrets, ne-ver yet expos'd, Preserv'd shall



be Preserv'd shall be, by Masons Free, And on-ly

be by Masons Free, by Masons Free,



so the ancient Lodge disclos'd, Because they're

and to the ancient Lodge disclos'd, Because they're kept in

N

(90)

kept in *Mason's Heart*, because they're kept in *Mason's Heart* by
Mason's Heart, because they're kept by

Brethren of the *Royal ART*.
 Brethren of the *Royal ART*.

The TUNA of the Enter'd Prentice's SONG, Compos'd by its Author,
 Mr. *Birkhead*, Deceas'd.

Come let us prepare we Brothers that are met to—gether on
 merry Oc—ca—sion, Let's Drink Laugh and Sing, our Wine has a
 Spring, 'tis a Health to an Accepted MASON.

APOLOGIE
Pour l' Ordre
des
Francs-Maçons

* * *
Par Mr. N***
Membre de l'Ordre.
Avec deux Chansons
composées par
Le Frère Américain.



A LA HAYE,
Chez PIERRE GOSSE,
M D C C X L I I

*Chanson Maçonrie par
Le Frere chantant*

Les vices biens sont peu durables

les Mortels s'en plaignent tous

et en fit d'inalterables ils ne

La fin

ont que nous nous fu/ Maître

Maître

Seigneurs Freres Respectables

le Frere

maître

Vous Apprentis et Compagnons

vous comme nous masons, moi

tous ce que nous faisons *O.*

le Frere Americain.

le frere
chantant

Cherons. Osons. Allons nous


Frere maitre en Vers et sans cesse dans nos

Cherons. Osons. le Sort heu-
reux des Freres Maçons.

Sous Loix sont les Maîtres
des Critiques. Le profane
d'une Veste d'homme
déplore l'homme
Maître venerable.

Ajoutons à notre Règle
un Point qui nous plaira fort
C'est qu'au Chevalier de l'Égale
on boive un grand coup d'ard.

Maître venerable.

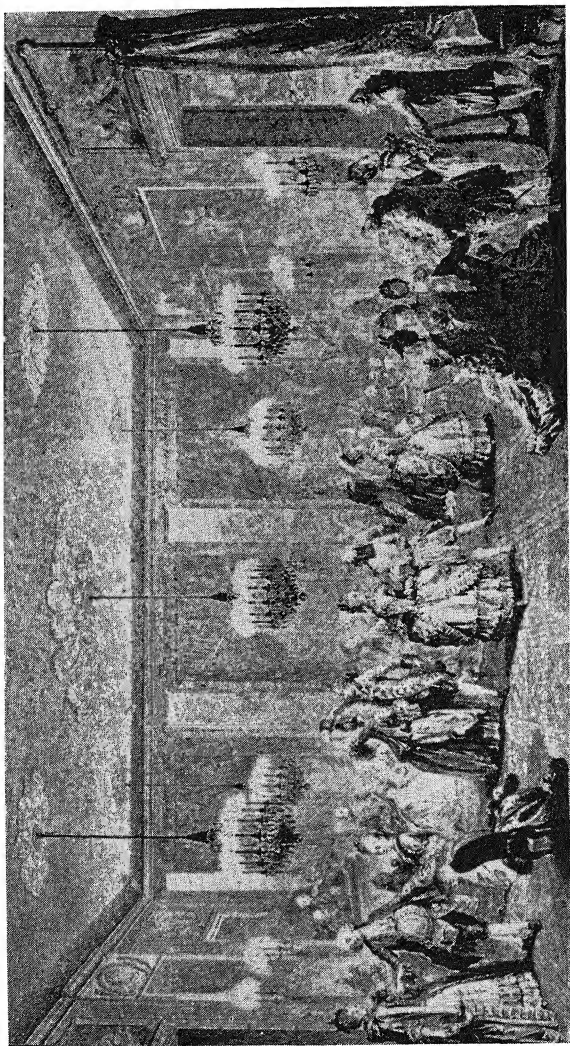


I.

Chanson Maçonne
par le Frère AMERICAÏN,

Pris que ce lui plait à la Ponde et
qu'il inspire la Gaude. que chaque un de vous me
seconde, et chante quand j'aurai chanté. Les Maçons brillent
dans le Monde, par le Cour et l'Urbanité

THE PHILADELPHIA DANCING ASSEMBLIES
AND
THE MISCHIANZA



LE BAL PARÉ

Engraving by A. de St. Aubin and A. J. Duclos of a French ballroom scene of the mid-eighteenth century. Now in the British Museum.

THE PHILADELPHIA DANCING ASSEMBLIES
AND
THE MISCHIANZA

“ Among the things with a historic past of which the city founded by Penn in 1682 on the shores of the Delaware and the Schuylkill Rivers can be proud, are the Philadelphia Assemblies. Dating from the winter of 1748-49, when they were organized and first given, they far outstrip in the remoteness of their origin any other series of balls which are given in this country with the one exception of balls given by the Saint Cecilia Society of Charleston in South Carolina. And even the beginnings of that venerable southern society, the Assemblies of Philadelphia antedate by fourteen years. For the Saint Cecilia Society was founded in 1762, and incorporated on March 10th, 1784.”

Thus did Thomas Willing Balch, a descendent of one of the founders of the Assemblies and himself a one-time Assembly manager, begin his noted history of *The Philadelphia Assemblies*.* In that history one may read in detail of the three manuscript relics—a list of the original subscribers, a statement of the rules governing the dances, and the treasurer’s account book—which, preserved now in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, yield valuable evidence regarding the inauguration of the Assemblies during the season of 1748-9. In that history will also be found discussions of the accomplishments and family connections of the leading participants in the early Assemblies; lists of ladies attending

* Published at Philadelphia by Allen, Lane and Scott in 1916.

during certain seasons; reproductions of Assembly invitations printed on the backs of playing cards (during colonial days no other cards were imported); and other colorful gleanings from newspapers and private documents which tell of the continuance of the Assemblies throughout the colonial period and of their gradual evolution into the gorgeous spectacles which crown the social season in modern Philadelphia.

It is not the purpose of this brief chapter to duplicate information already available in printed form, but rather to add enlightenment on two points not fully treated by Balch. One of these points concerns a list of ladies attending the Assemblies; the other quite properly has to do with the musical aspect of the Assemblies during the eighteenth century.

Readers of Balch's book may recall that he quotes there (pp. 69-75) "an undated list of ladies who attended undoubtedly some important social function in colonial days," the list having been for an unknown number of years in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Assuming from the extent and make-up of the list that the function in question was a Dancing Assembly, Balch made an effort to date the list by comparing known birth, death, and marriage dates of the ladies named. By such comparisons he was led to place the date of the function at some time between 1763 and 1774, and he expressed the hope that readers would come forward with information enabling him to narrow the period down to the exact year.

Curiously enough, all the while Thomas Willing Balch was struggling to arrive at a date for this list there lay hidden somewhere in Philadelphia a manuscript which would have simplified his labors considerably.

This manuscript chart (reproduced on the folded plate, opposite page 540) had been drawn up by Charles R. Hildeburn (1855-1901), the noted Philadelphia historian who was long active as an officer of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In four columns, covering both sides of a sheet of heavy, brown paper, 18" \times 24", Hildeburn had copied from the original list * the names of the ladies, and had then set to work by means of genealogical research to chart such dates of births, deaths, and marriages as would eventually point to the precise date of the list. From the notations opposite various names it is apparent that Hildeburn progressed far enough to know that the list centered about the period 1764-1766, for he was able to establish the marriage dates of several ladies whose maiden names had been marked out and replaced by their married names while the list was still in effect. Yet, so far as can be discovered, Hildeburn failed to publish his findings in any form, and it is curious that even his kinsman, friend, and fellow-historian, Thomas Willing Balch, was ignorant of his investigations.

Just how and when the well-frayed manuscript noting the results of these investigations came into the possession of May Atherton Leach, the original editor of the present volume, is a mystery her successor has failed to solve. Found among the material collected in preparation for this volume, the manuscript was identified only by its caption (at the bottom of the fourth column) and by a passing reference in a letter to "a genealogical chart drawn by the late Charles R. Hildeburn." Comparison of the handwriting with Hildeburn manuscripts in the

* Presumably the list was already in the possession of the Historical Society when Hildeburn copied it, though the date and manner of its acquisition by that institution are not clear.

possession of the Historical Society leaves no doubt but what the initial copying of the names and a considerable portion of the annotations was the work of that historian. At the same time, the caption and many of the annotations are unmistakably in the hand of the late editor herself. The two styles of writing can easily be distinguished by their capital "M's" and "A's"; compare, for example, Leach's "Martha Ellis," in the middle of the first column, with Hildeburn's "Margaret Evans," immediately below.

Regardless of the mysterious past history of the manuscript, it is obvious from a study of it that May Atherton Leach succeeded in carrying the original investigator's researches near to completion—near enough that she could label the list "Ladies at the Dancing Assembly, 1765-66." As a matter of fact, "1765-66" is perhaps too specific a date, for comparison of the marriage dates established by the two noted genealogists seems to show that the list served throughout at least three successive seasons of the Assemblies: 1764, 1765, and 1766.*

To begin with, it is clear that the list must have been drawn up after Ann McCall became the bride of Thomas Willing, on June 9, 1763 (Column 2), for it refers simply to "Mrs. Thomas Willing." Yet it must have been drawn up before October 18, 1764, for on that date Mary Boynton became Mrs. George Morgan—and the change is noted on the list (Column 4).† Several such changes

* In the beginning, at least, the Assemblies actually were held only after the New Year. The *Rules* for the first season specify "every Thursday night from the first Jan'y 1748/9 to the first Day of May . . ."

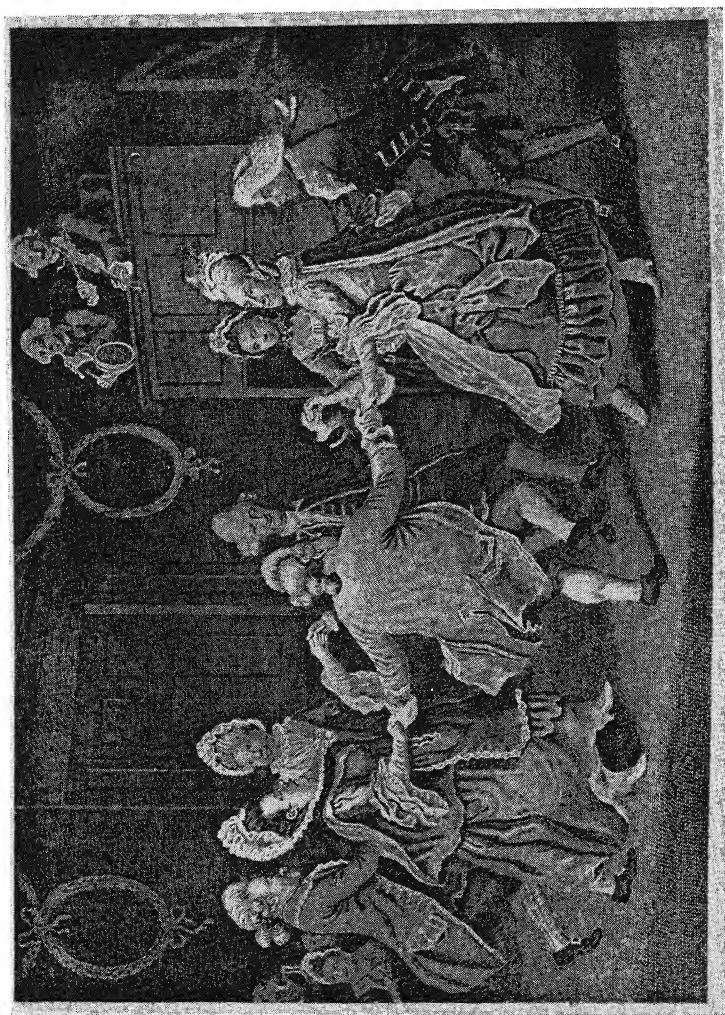
† In copying the original list, Hildeburn omitted some of these alterations, which were later copied by May Atherton Leach.

were made during 1765 and 1766, the last one being for May 31, 1766 (Column 1), when Ann Allen married Governor John Penn. The next significant date is May 13, 1767 (Column 2), marking the marriage of Hannah Levy, whose matrimonial venture is *not* indicated on the list; from this fact one must conclude that by May 1767 the list was no longer maintained in effect. Thus it seems clear that the list was compiled for the 1764 season and that it remained in force certainly throughout the season of 1766 and perhaps also through that of 1767. It is possible that some future investigator will be able to eliminate the "perhaps" and settle conclusively the identity of this interesting document.

In regard to the musical side of the early Assemblies there is all too little that can be said. Such accounts as exist devote all their attention to the dancers and none to the "pipers;" one has a suspicion at times that both music and players "sat below the salt" at the Assembly table. John Swift's account book for the first season shows the expenditure per dance for "Musick" was invariably £1/10—somewhat more than was spent on limes, considerably less than was paid for "5 Gallons Rum & Cask."

What this "Musick" consisted of unfortunately is not specified, but we can guess that the thirty shillings were divided among three players—possibly more, probably not less. A private ball held in Virginia just before the Revolution boasted two violins and a French horn.* Engravings showing English dance scenes of the same period, scenes containing fewer dancers than the several dozen couples who attended the first Assemblies, fre-

* Diary of Philip Fithian, quoted by Elisabeth McClellan in *Historic Dress in America*, Philadelphia, George W. Jacobs & Co., 1904, p. 234.



THE COTILLION DANCE

Engraving by J. Collet and J. Caldwell (London, 1771), showing eight dancers in a cotillion accompanied by "fiddle" and "pipe and tabor."

quently picture two musicians: a fiddler to carry the tune and a wind or percussion player to provide a rhythmic background.* No doubt the number of Assembly musicians varied somewhat in accordance with the available supply, though by the middle of the eighteenth century Philadelphia was certainly not lacking in musicians. The pages of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* during the first decade of the Assemblies often testify to the activities of instrumentalists, and it is not surprising to find one advertisement (January 12, 1758) in which "Notice is hereby given to all Gentlemen and others, that John Beals from London . . . plays on the violin at the Assembly Balls and all other entertainments."

What music was it that John Beals and his companions played? No clues have been found as to the specific tunes popular at the time of the first Assemblies, but at least there is no doubt but what the schedule of the ball followed the prevailing English custom, in which an opening minuet was succeeded by country dances.† A

* The "pipe and tabor" was a favorite when only one or two instruments were available, since it combined melody and rhythm in one. As may be seen from the Collet and Caldwell engraving of *The Cotillon Dance* (p. 514), the pipe was fingered with the left hand while the tabor was beaten with the right.

† By the middle of the eighteenth century, those formal, stately court dances which characterized the preceding century had disappeared from English ballrooms, with one notable exception. That exception was the minuet, which remained fashionable as the opening ceremonial of all formal balls until the Napoleonic era. The country dances which followed the minuet on dance programs had originally been just that: dances "of the countryside," gay and boisterous in comparison with the sedate sarabandes, pavaues, courantes, galliards, gavottes, and chaconnes which they supplanted. Unlike these other specific dances, the country dance was a generic form capable of a great many variations in music and figure. For a clear summary of the history of that form and of the confused terminology associated with it, consult Cecil J. Sharp and A. P. Oppe, *The Dance*, London, Halton and Truscott, Ltd, 1924, pp. 19-28.

Fancy Minuet with figure Dance by Two young Ladies in the presence of Mrs. Washington in 1792. Philad.

Memore

franch. brillante

MINUET AND COTILLION BY PIERRE LANDRIN DUPORE

Dated "1792-Philad.," this "Fancy Minuet with figure Dance by Two Young Ladies in the presence of Mrs. Washington" is Number 35 in the composer's manuscript collection of dance tunes, now in the Library of Congress.

letter of May 3, 1749, from the Reverend Richard Peters to Thomas Penn,* describes the amusing circumstances under which the Governor and Mrs. Willing had opened a recent Assembly by dancing "the first Minuet." One of the "Dance Regulations" drawn up for the first season stipulates that "the Director who has the composing of the sets is, whilst the Minuets are dancing, to couple those disposed for Country Dances. . . ."

Later in the century, at the close of the Revolution, the cotillon † was introduced into American ballrooms and gradually won a place beside the country dance. *The Rules of the Philadelphia Assembly* for 1794 ‡ proclaim that "Each set having danced a Country Dance, a Cotillion may be called, if at the desire of eight ladies." During the same period the Irish jig and the Scotch reel also became popular at fashionable balls. As early as January 18, 1774, the diary of Philip Fithian § records the schedule of dances at a ball in Virginia as "1st Minuet one round 2nd jigs 3rd reels and last of all country dances." Marches were "struck up occasionally"—probably to accompany promenades.

If we are wholly in the dark as to the particular tunes which found favor at colonial Assemblies, the facts regarding dances held during the first years of the Republic are more easily ascertained. Readers who examine the Sonneck-Upton *Bibliography of Early Secular*

* This letter, now preserved in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is quoted in part by Balch, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

† Originally a French folk dance (*cotte* is a name for the peasants' short petticoat), the cotillon (Anglicized "cotillion") proved to be the forerunner of the favorite dance in duple metre of the nineteenth century, the quadrille.

‡ Quoted in Balch, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

§ Elisabeth McClellan, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

American Music * will find listed there the contents of numerous collections of dance music which appeared in print between 1785 and 1800. One of the most famous of those collections is of especial interest to Philadelphians, for it undoubtedly contains many tunes heard at Assemblies of that period: *Mr. Francis's Ballroom Assistant. Being a Collection of the most admired Cotillions and Country Dances with their proper figures annexed . . . The music composed and selected and the whole arranged for the Piano Forte by Mr. [Alexander] Reinagle.* Philadelphia, G. Willig, ca. 1800.

Whereas most of the tunes in *Mr. Francis's Ballroom Assistant* bear names with an unmistakably American ring ("The Constitution," "Philadelphia Medley," "Maryland Hornpipe"), a manuscript dance schedule found at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania lists tunes that are largely English in origin. Undated and unidentified, this schedule of tunes—complete with directions for dancing the country dances associated with each—may well have served at some long-forgotten Assembly, and for that reason it is here reproduced (pp. 519-523), apparently for the first time.

From the standpoint of paper, ink, orthography, and calligraphy, this manuscript could be placed anywhere within the period from Bunker Hill to Waterloo. Among the tunes listed, however, is [Ah] *Ça ira*, a song of the *citoyens* which was taken over during the 1790's by the Jeffersonian interventionists (cf. p. 422). Four American editions of *Ça ira* are known,† and all four were published at Philadelphia during the years 1793-1796. Evidently the popularity of the song subsided as quickly as it had arisen, no doubt largely as a result of the Franco-

* Cf. the Bibliography at the conclusion of this volume.

† Cf. Sonneck-Upton, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

N^o 1 Sweet Richard

The 1st and 2^d Cu. half Right
and Left Set. half Right and
Left back again. Lead down two
Cu. up again. Poussette with the
2^d Cu.

N^o 2 Munster Laps.

Cast off 1 Cu. and hands ~~at~~ at
bottom, cast up and hands ~~at~~ at
top. Lead down the Middle up
again and Cast off 1 Cu. Right
and Left at top.

N^o 3 Warwick Castle

The 1st Cu. Swing quite round
and fall in between 2^d and 3th
Cu. Swing quite round and
come back to places. Lead down
the Middle up again and Cast
off 1 Cu. Allemande

N^o 4 Shi Caird

Turn your Partner with the
right hand quite round and
cast off 1 Cu. The 2^d Cu. do the
Same - Lead down the Middle
up again - Allemand and bring
Corners.

N^o 5 New Gypsy

Cast off 2 Cu. up again - Lead
down the Middle up again
Turn your Partner with the
Right and Left hand - 1st and
2^d Cu. poufette

N^o 6 Virginia

The 1st Cu. turn with the Right
and Left hand - 2^d Cu. do the Same
Lead down the Middle up again
and cast off 1 Cu. poufette

. 1st York House

First and 2^d Cu. Set and hands
across back again Lead down
the middle up again. Men
Hands in corners and Right and
Left

. 1st Evening Brusk

First Cu. Set 3 on the Ladies
Side. Then on Gent: Side Hands
across and back again Lead
down the middle up again
and Cast off 1 Cu. Right and
Left

. 1st Capt. Mackintosh

Cast off 2 Cu. up again - Lead
down the middle up again
Cast off 1 Cu. turn corners and
lead out sides

N^o 10 The prince's Favorite
 The 1st Cu. Set to 2^d Lady and
 hands 3 Round. The same to
 2^d Gent. Lead down the Mid^{le}
 up again and cast off 1 Cu.
 Allemande

N^o 11 Jumping Joan
 Cross hands quite Round back
 again - down the Middle up
 again cast off 1 Cu. Set corners
 and Lead Outsides

N^o 12 The May dn
 Turn your Partner with the
 right then with the left hand
 Lead down the Middle up again
 to the top. Promenade 3 Cu.
 Round 1st and 2^d Cu. poufsette

. V. ^{no} 13. Eggham Race

First and 2^d Cu: Set and change
sides back again Lead down
the Middle up again and cast
off 1 Cu: Swing corners then
your Partner the other corners
the same Lead Outsides.

. V. ^{no} 14. The Duke of Clarences
Fancy

Foot it and hands across half
round the same back again
Lead down the Middle up again
and cast off 1 Cu: Right and
Left at Top

American troubles of 1797-98 and of the reaction felt in this country after the first burst of enthusiasm over the French Revolution. Thus it seems safe to assume that the manuscript belongs to the final decade of the eighteenth century. Of the other tunes listed in the manuscript, No. 6 may be the *Virginia Reel* still familiar today, and No. 9 is quite likely the *Capt. Mackintosh's March* published as "a favourite Air" in *The Instrumental Assistant*, compiled by Samuel Holyoke and printed by H. Ranlet at Exeter, N. H., in 1800.

Although the Dancing Assemblies—which even in colonial times were the crowning events of the Philadelphia social season—had to be well-nigh abandoned during the uncertain years of the Revolution, it was a paradox of war that the most memorable social event of the entire eighteenth century in Philadelphia should occur during one of the darkest periods in American history. On September 26, 1777, having defeated Washington at Brandywine, Sir William Howe and his army occupied Philadelphia. During the winter months very little military contact between the two armies occurred. While Washington and his ragged men endured the hardships of Valley Forge, Howe and his troops led a relatively comfortable existence in Philadelphia. With little else to occupy their time, the British officers enlisted the women of both political factions in a whirl of social activity—dinners, concerts, balls, theatricals—that mounted in intensity throughout the winter months and finally reached its climax on May 18, 1778, in the still-famous Mischianza.

Intended as a farewell tribute to General Howe, then being relieved of his command, this lavish mingling * of

* The term *Mischianza* comes from the Italian verb *mischiare*, "to mix, to mingle," and its derivative noun, *mischio*, "a medley." The form *Meschianza* has also been employed.

Psle, Philip

PRESIDENTS MARCH AND CA IRA

Price 12 Cents

Presidents March

Ca Ira

H 1659

FEDERALIST OR JEFFERSONIAN?

This Benjamin Carr edition of 1793 or 1794 (the earliest American edition known for either tune) joined together the leading musical slogans of the opposing political factions (see p. 422).

medieval pageantry with eighteenth century gallantry was to a considerable extent the creation of one man, the remarkable Major John André. That officer's untimely though not inglorious end upon a Continental gallows-cart is a familiar episode in Revolutionary history. Not so generally known, however, is the fact that, in addition to being a brilliant officer in the field and in the staff-tent, André possessed unusual talents as an actor, poet, artist, and playwright. All of these talents and others as well * were lavished by André upon that spectacle which was to be talked of in Philadelphia long after the circumstances which made it possible had been forgotten.† Needless to say, music played an important part in that spectacle, though here again the blank face of recorded history mocks the investigator who dares seek full details.

The story of the Mischianza has been told many times, but never so charmingly or in such picturesque detail as by John André himself. A few weeks after the memorable event, André put that story into the pages of a manuscript booklet which he presented to his "Lady of the Blended Rose," Peggy Chew. Deeply treasured by the young girl, who later became Mrs. John Eager Howard, the booklet has remained in the possession of the Howard family and was made known to the world only in 1894. In *Century Magazine* for March of that year,

* Even many of the costumes and decorations were designed by the versatile young artist, and it would not be surprising to learn that he had written, or at least chosen, the musical numbers which accompanied the festival.

† Much information regarding the Mischianza has been gained from Anne Hollingsworth Wharton's *The Genealogy of the Wharton Family* (Philadelphia, Collins, 1880) and from an unpublished address, *The Story of the Mischianza*, by Charles C. Norris, Jr., Esq., of Philadelphia, presented in that city before the Society of Colonial Wars in March, 1943.

Sophie Howard Ward told the story of John André's manuscript and there printed it for the first time. In order that Philadelphians and interested readers everywhere may have a more accessible record of that curious event, Major André's story of the Mischianza is here printed for a second time. It is a story now quaint, now flamboyant, its gay pageantry startlingly vivid against the sombre backdrop of war and the shadow of André's own fast-approaching doom.

W. L.



PEGGY CHEW

From a painting by R. E. Pine, reproduced in *Century Magazine*, March 1894.



FRONTISPIECE OF ANDRÉ'S ACCOUNT

From the water-color by André himself.*

* The illustrations on this and the preceding page are reproduced, and Major André's Account is reprinted, from *The Century Magazine* (copyright 1894, 1922 by The Century Co.) with the kind permission of D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc.

MAJOR ANDRÉ'S ACCOUNT OF THE MISCHIANZA *

The Festival given in honour of Sr Wm Howe on the 18th of May and stiled the Misquianza began by a Regatta upon the Delaware; Four hundred persons were invited, for all of whom the most convenient Accommodations were provided in Galleys and Flat Boats: These were on the Occasion lined with Cloth, covered with Awnings, and dressed out with Colours and Streamers in full naval pomp.

The Embarkation took place at Knight's wharf at the upper end of the City at 4 oClock in the afternoon and the Weather was as favourable as the preparations were magnificent.

The *Ferret* Galley in which were several General Officers and Ladies led the Way. Three flat boats with Musick followed, The *Hussar* allotted to Sir William Howe rowed next and the *Cornwallis* with Gen: Knyphausen closed the rear. The Boats in three Divisions, one attached to each Galley swarmed around them.

The Gaudy Fleet, freighted with all that was distinguished by Rank Beauty and Gallantry was conveyed down the River, along the whole length of the City, whilst every Ship at the wharfs or in the Stream was decked in all her maritime Ornaments and covered with Spectators. Opposite to the Fanny (an Armed Ship of the Frigate Build) the whole lay on their Oars; The Fanny was from the water's edge to the Mast Head covered with Streamers and Ensigns.

The Shore now became doubly crowded with lookers on, full of Curiosity and admiration. The musick Boats drew somewhat nearer and the loyal and inspiring ode

* This reprinting follows the original manuscript in every detail.

"God save the King" was played and Chorussed. After this Ceremony the Boats and Galleys proceeded on their way down the River and the *Roebuck* as they passed, firing a Royal Salute, The Musick, the number of Spectators & the Brilliancy of the gay tribe which peopled the River made the whole uncommonly solemn and striking.

The General and the whole Company who had attended the Regatta landed opposite Mr Whartons House at 6 oClock. Here the preparations had been made for the remaining amusements of the Evening. The House stands at about 600 yards from the Water, at the bottom of the Garden a Triumphal Arch was erected of the Doric Order decorated with military Emblems and Devices and inscribed

"I bone 'quo Virtus tua te vocat I pedé fausto." 150 yards farther towards the water stood another Arch of the same Order but decorated with naval Ornaments. Its inscription on the Freeze was "Laus illi debetur, et a me gratia major."

Under the military arch stood in Niches two Grenadiers, under the naval one two Sailors. The Ground between the last Edifice and the Delaware was the Spot fixed upon for the Carousel, and at the upper end near the naval Arch were erected two small Amphitheatres; the Approach to the Arch was between these. The Company was conducted to the lower end of the Carousel ground opposite the Center of the Arches and House, whilst Spectators not to be numbered darkened the whole plain around: a very strong guard controlled their Curiosity and with the Colours of the Army waving at different intervals framed-in the Ground with martial uniformity and splendour.

The company having proceeded up the Center with some Order and Solemnity The Ladies were Seated on the Amphitheatres, those attached to the Knights in the most conspicuous places.

The Ladies selected from the foremost in youth, beauty and fashion were habited in fancy dresses. They wore gauze Turbans spangled and edged with gold or Silver, on the right Side a veil of the same kind hung as low as the waist and the left side of the Turban was enriched with pearl and tassels of gold or Silver & crested with a feather. The dress was of the polonaise Kind and of white Silk with long sleeves, the Sashes which were worn round the waist and were tied with a large bow on the left side hung very low and were trimmed spangled and fringed according to the Colours of the Knight. The Ladies of the black Champions were on the right, those of the white on the left.

The combined Bands of musick of the Army having taken their Station behind the general and attendants, a very loud and animated march gave the Signal for beginning the Ceremony of the Carousel.

Seven White Knights on Horses of that Colour entered the Quadrangle from the left proceeded by a Herald and three Trumpets. Their device which the Herald bore on his Coat and with which the Trumpet banners were blazon'd was a white and red rose with their Stalks entwined. The motto was "we droop when separate" and the Knights stiled themselves "Of the blended Rose."

Their dress was that worn in the time of Henry the 4th of France: The Vest was of white Sattin, the upper part of the sleeves made very full but of pink confined within a row of straps of white sattin laced with Silver upon a black edging. The Trunk Hose were exceeding

THE WHITE KNIGHTS WERE:

<i>Knights.</i>	<i>Shield.</i>	<i>Motto.</i>	<i>Lady.</i>
Chf. Knt: Lord Cathcart, 17th Drns Esqres. { Capt. Hazard, 44th. Capt. Brownlow 57th.	Cupid on a Lion	"Surmounted by Love"	Miss Achmuty
Hble Mr. Cathcart 23rd Esq. Capt. Peters, dsd	A Heart and a Sword	"Love and Honour"
Mr. Bygrave 16th Dra. Esq. Mr. Nicholas	Cupid tracing a Circle	"Without End"	Miss J. Craig
Capt. André 26th Esq. Mr. André 7th	Two game cocks fighting	"No Rival"	Miss P. Chew
Capt. Horneck, Guds Esq. Mr. Talbot 16th Drag:	A Burning Heart	"Absence Cannot Ex- tinguish It"	Miss N. Redmond
Capt. Mathews 41st Esq. Mr. Hamilton 15th	A Winged Heart	"Each Fair by Turns"	Miss Bond
Mr. Sloper, 17th Dra Mr. Brown, 15th	A Heart and Sword	"Honour & the Fair"

wide and of the same kind with the shoulder-part of the Sleeves. A large pink scarf fastened on the right shoulder with a white bow crossed the Breast and back and hung in an ample loose Knot with Silver fringes very low under the left hip, a pink and white Sword belt laced with black and Silver girded the waist, Pink bows with fringe were fastened to the Knees, and a wide buff leather boot hung carelessly round the ankles: The Hat of white sattin with a narrow brim and high crown, was turned up in front and enlivened by red white and plack plumes, and the Hair tied with the Contrasted Colours of the dress hung in flowing curls upon the back. The Horses were caparisoned with the same Colours, with trimmings and bows hanging very low from either ham and tied round their Chest. The Esquires of which the chief Knights had two and the other Knights one were in a pink Spanish Dress with white mantles and sashes: they wore high crowned pink hats with a white and a black feather and carried the lance and Shield of their Knight. The lance was fluted pink and white with a little banner of the same Colours, and the Shield was silvered and painted with the Knights device.

The Knights of the blended rose each preceded by his Esquire passed singly at equal Intervals in procession round the field and saluted the General and Ladies, being returned to their ground on the left, they drew up, the chief Knight a little advanced in front and the others equally divided on either Side, the Herald moved to the Center of the Area, three trumpets preceeding him, to summon attention. The first defiance was then pronounced in the following Words

THE BLACK KNIGHTS WERE:

<i>Knights.</i>	<i>Shield.</i>	<i>Motto.</i>	<i>Lady.</i>
Chief Knt, Captn. Watson Guds. Esqrs { Capt. Scott 17th Mr. Lytleton 5th	A Heart and a Wreath of Laurel	"Love and Glory"	Miss Franks
Mr. Underwood 10th Esq: Mr. Havercam	A Pelican Feeding Her Young	"For Those I Love"	Miss N. White
Mr. Winiard 64th Esq: Mr. Boscawen Guards	A Bay leaf	"Unchang'd"	Miss ———
Mr. Delaval 4th Esq: Capt. Thorne 4th	{ A Heart aimed at } by several Arrows } and struck by one }	"One only pierces me"	Miss B. Bond
Monsr. De Montlirant Chasseurs Esq: Capt. Campbell 55th	A Sunflower turning to the Sun	"Je vise a vous"	Miss B. Redman
Mr. Hobart 7th Esq: Mr. Briscoe	A Mariner's Compass	"To The Fairest"	Miss S. Chew
Mr of Br Tarlton Esq: Mr Hart 46'	A Light Dragoon	"Swift, Vigilant & Bold"	Miss Smith

The Knights of the Blended Rose, by me their Herald proclaim and assert, that the Ladies of the Blended Rose, excell in Wit, Beauty and every Accomplishment, those of the whole world, and, should any Knight, or Knights, be so hardy as to dispute or deny it, they are ready to enter the lists with them and maintain their assertions, by deeds of Arms, according to the laws of ancient Chivalry.

The Herald then approached the Company at the upper end of the Field and repeated the defiance and afterwards moving to the right, pronounced it with the same Solemnity on the opposite part of the Field to the White Knights.

Seven Black Knights now appeared within the Quadrangle. They were in black Sattin contrasted with orange and laced with gold according to the stile of dress of the White Knights; Their Horses were black and likewise ornamented with black and orange. The Esquires were in orange coloured silk with black mantles and Trimmings: They stiled themselves Knights of the Burning Mountain, and their Herald had that device on his Coat with the motto "I burn for ever."

They shewd themselves to contend for the superior Worth of the Ladies of the burning Mountain and to disprove the Assertion of the White Knights in favour of their Ladies.

After having moved in procession round the Quadrangle, exchanged a Salute with their Antagonists, and paid their Compliment to the distinguished group of Spectators, they took their place opposite to the White Knights and their Herald was sent with the same ceremonies as that of the blended Rose, to defy the Knights of that device to make good their Assertion: Their defiance was nearly in the following words.—



PEGGY SHIPPEN

Although she had accepted an invitation from Mr. Sloper to be a Lady of the Blended Rose, the future Mrs. Benedict Arnold was restrained from attending the Mischianza by the last-minute orders of her father, Edward (later Chief Justice) Shippen.

The Knights of the Burning Mountain enter these lists not to contend with words, but to disprove by deeds of Arms the vainglorious assertions of the Knights of the blended Rose and to shew that the Ladies of the burning Mountn as far excell all others in Charms as the Knights themselves surpass all others in prowess.

On a parley being sounded the two Lines of Knights having sheathed their Swords, met midway, and the White Chief throwing down his glove in defiance towards his adversarys Feet, an Esquire from the Black took it up

and returned it to him as accepting the Challenge. The Esquires now presented the Knights with their Shields and Lances, and the whole after saluting with the Lance, returned to resume their places.

The Signal for the Charge was next sounded when the Tilt took place with great rapidity and dexterity, each Knights Spear appearing to be shivered against his Antagonist, the Charge back again was immediate and with the pistol, which was fired in passing, the other pistol being produced, a third Charge was made; The Knights then drew their Swords and rode again at each other striking as they passed. The Whole now advanced against each other at once and closed, each Knight to his adversary, fighting hand to hand, and circling round, to direct their blow, till on a Signal they desisted to admit of a Single Combat between the Chiefs. These whilst fighting furiously, were parted by the interposition of the Judges of the Field, who doubtless deemed the Ladies so fair and the Knights so brave that it wou'd have been impious to decide in favour of either.

The Knights of both colours thus reconciled by a happy compromise formed in one Line at the bottom of the Field, alternately a black and a white champion, and advanced in Line to salute the witnesses of their Feats, they then filed so as each to ride by his Opponent, and being preceeded by their Trumpets and Heralds and attended by their Esquires moved in procession to martial musick thro the first Arch, on the other side of which they formed themselves on either side the avenue leading to the next; The Company passed between them towards the house & were salutd by Each Knight as they came opposite to him.


The House was lighted and ornamented with much Brilliancy and Taste: a great number of looking glasses multiplied every object, These were festooned over with Flowers Knots and scarves of pink and green silk and the walls were decorated with ornamental paintings in Fresco in a very elegant Stile. The ladies sat down to Tea whilst the Knights dismounted. The latter soon entered arm in arm and repaired to pay homage to their fair ones by whom they were each presented with a favour.

The ball now began: The Knights only and their Ladies standing up in the first dance; The second dance The Knights' Ladies danced with the Esquires. By this time it was about 9 oClock and quite dark and the Fireworks which were prepared in the garden and on the Arch next the House were announced. The Company distributed themselves at the windows and doors, and were entertained with an Exhibition which besides its real merit, had that of Novelty to recommend it to the greatest number. The Fireworks closed with a grand illumination of the Arch, on the summit of which was a figure of Fame, from whose Trumpet issued in Letters of fire "Tes Lauriers sont immortels"

The Ladies returned again to the Ball Room, and another dance had scarce been led down, when they were summoned to Supper; Thus was one pleasure ever substituted to another throughout this various evening, long before satiety could take place.

Behind and adjoining to the house a Saloon 180 feet long had been erected, it was arched with Frame work and lined with Canvass painted and decorated in the manner of Scenes. A great number of Lustres hung from the roof along the whole length of the building, Looking Glasses, Chandeliers and Girandoles covered the Sides.

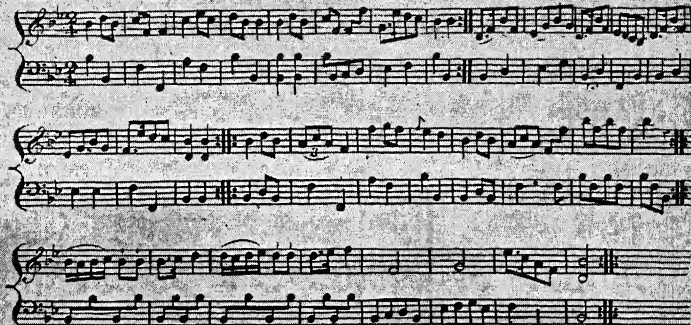
The Monmouth — or the Victory.



Hands across & back again — lead down the middle up again & cast off — right & left — Gallant & turn your partner — Ditto Ditto —

DANCE AT THE HEADQUARTERS.

22 The Brandewine.



1st Gentleman sets to the 2^d Lady and turns the 3^d, the 1st Lady the same lead down the middle, up again, cast off and Allemande right and left.

TWO COUNTRY DANCE TUNES

From *Twenty Four American Country Dances as danced by the British during their winter quarters at Philadelphia*. . . published by Longman & Broderip at London in 1785. The plate used was made some years ago at the instigation of Mrs. Alvin A. Parker, presumably from the only known copy of the collection, once owned by Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker of Philadelphia and now lost from sight.

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